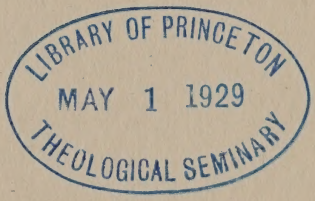
COMMUNITY CONFLICT



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Community Conflict

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A Formulation of Case Studies in Community Conflict, with Discussion Outlines

Preliminary Edition

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. . . experience may found more perfect knowledge, and upon knowledge more true consent.

FRANCIS BACON.

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INTRODUCTION

"A RETIRED farmer on the school board in a small town in Iowa took to task a visitor who had happened to mention that he once did publicity for a prize-fighter. 'We don't have any prize-fighting in this town,' he said thankfully. 'We wouldn't allow it.'

"From the railroad train the town of B looks as if it were a peaceful little place. It has a population of 1400. It ships a lot of cattle and hogs to Omaha and Chicago. It has a consolidated school, five churches, one movie, two blocks of stores and a corn cannery. It also has a town row. A town row is not a pleasant spectacle, nor is it uplifting. It is not polite. Compared with the prize ring, where iron-jawed gentlemen have fouls called if they hit below the belt, a town row is a brutal sport. Public opinion is a partisan referee. Most of its jabbing is done below the waist-line. In the town of B it happens to be the somewhat thin waist of the school superintendent, Peters, who works his eight hours, plus after school and evenings, managing the six-hundred-odd children in this consolidated school district, directing some fourteen other teachers, quelling the big boys, training for declamatory

contests, running a basketball team, teaching manual training, bossing the bus drivers who tote the county children into town and home again, and doing a hundred other modern educational tasks. Time left the superintendent spends with his school board.

" 'What's wrong with your board?' the visitor asked after hearing a tale of woe.

" 'Nothing wrong with it; it's like all the others I know,' Peters answered. 'There are two Methodists, one Catholic, one Lutheran, and the preacher of the Peace Evangelical Church. It's the Peace preacher this time who's leading the fight.' He wanted Peters to resign, it developed. Also he wanted the scalp of the woman principal of the high school. 'Creed, in his case,' Peters answered when asked why. 'It breaks out the end of every school year. You always hear creeds when small-town school teachers are elected.' The visitor hadn't known that. He had never taught school. Education in a small town is a very complicated business, he discovered. Presidential elections aren't in it. Three Methodists controlled the board in B town this spring. The Peace preacher defeated one of them for re-election. Before the Methodists it had been the Congregationalists; before them, Catholics.

" 'Half our town is retired farmer,' Peters explained. 'Most of them are Catholics. They con-

trolled the school board about four years ago and appointed a Catholic superintendent. He was a good man, wide awake. It was he who started the campaign for a new schoolhouse.' 'Why didn't he stay?' the visitor wondered. 'Well,' Peters said, 'the Lutherans simply went crazy, and so did nearly everyone else. They all joined forces and put three Congregationalists on the board. Of course they fired the Catholic superintendent. But they didn't appoint the man the Methodists had picked. So it was only a case of waiting for the Methodists to control the board. Then I got my job, two years ago. I tried to play the middle ground.'

"The visitor laughed. 'I couldn't,' Peters agreed. 'I found that out.'" [1]

Many a Superintendent has found that out, and many a community is faced with the same problem of factionalism impeding its essential activities:

"Several years ago in a small southern town, a sharp difference of opinion arose at a meeting of the Woman's Club. Bitter feeling and violent antagonism ensued which eventually resulted in half of the members organizing a rival club. This division in the community soon became so pronounced that it seriously affected the work of the schools, the churches, and the local government.

[1] Abridged from *This Teaching Business* by Karl Dexter, *The Outlook*, May, 1926.

The men took up the quarrel of their wives, and split also into two factions. The churches are torn by this factional spirit and find it impossible to cooperate. The spirit of rivalry led to the building of two expensive club houses, which has involved each faction deeply in debt. Many of the people admit that this division in the community is ruining their town, but neither side is willing to take a step toward reconciliation. Under such conditions ministers and teachers find their work almost impossible, and leave the community at the earliest opportunity." [1]

Whether it be the school or the water system or the bank that is the centre of the controversy, whether it be the Catholics against the Lutherans or the Methodists against the Baptists, whether it be the farmers against the merchants or "the hill" against "the other side of the tracks": the community that is so divided into opposing forces is hampered in the exercise of its functions and the intention of its organization is frustrated.

For communities are organized for the fulfillment of certain communal ends. For the purposes of this study, we shall consider the community as a group of people living in relative proximity and fulfilling certain essential needs in a cooperative way. These common needs, however, are only a part of the needs of their total lives. These people are not only members of the community. They

[1] *Community Organization* by Jesse Frederick Steiner, The Century Co., 1925, pp. 37 and 38.

are personalities, each with a variety of interests, some encompassed within, some extending beyond, the community which is their local focus. Increasingly, they join in groups with other persons of like interests. Sooner or later these interests clash with other interests fostered by other groups or arising within the same group: "The modern community tends to become a web of interest-groups . . . When something needs to be done for all members of the community, these interest-groups come forward to represent their stake in the project. Interaction between organized groups is then the community process." [1]

Where men are alert and progressive, they will never be free from such interest clashes. The community which knows no conflict is too often the stagnant, the torpid community. Here differences are tolerated because the interests they connote are not vital enough to prompt to action, and we find a fatuous peace where what is most needed is activity based on understanding and adjustment of these interests.

But where action is undertaken, where one group cuts across the interests of another group, there conflict ensues. How are such situations to be dealt with? How is such conflict to be utilized? How may men acquire that understanding and control that shall make of conflict, not a disintegrative, but an integrative force? How may we develop such techniques for re-directing cross-purposes as shall further, not frustrate, community progress and shall create opportunity for further achievement?

The most fruitful way of viewing these clashes

[1] From an unpublished manuscript by E. C. Lindeman.

of interest is as problems to be solved. If one half the community is determined to prove how wicked a plan is, and the other half is bent on showing how noble it is, neither will be concerned with the community as a whole. Those who are tempted to "take sides," to invoke their biases at the outset of every conflict, thereby give the situation a moralistic setting which falsifies the issue and stands in the way of analysis. The moment a conflict is regarded as a battle to be won, it ceases to be a problem to be dealt with, and all inventive effort is barred.

Nor can we depend upon the mechanics of government alone to achieve the solution. Government is but one function of the community, and too often it is itself hampered by the same interest clashes that disrupt other phases of community life. There are, of course, many who wish to turn to neutral sources for the solution of their conflicts; this may enable the immediate situation to clear up temporarily, but it furnishes no dynamic for dealing with succeeding conflicts. The participants learn nothing when they merely acquiesce in a solution externally arrived at. Rather, the task of re-animating our community life devolves upon the community itself. The resources for solving conflicts are inherent in the very interest groups that precipitate them. Any other method leaves us unequipped to deal with our own difficulties, and sends us back once more to reliance upon external interventions.

This booklet addresses itself to those men and women who are concerned with the quality of their community life, and who seek to develop skill in discovering and utilizing their community resources for the understanding and solution of community

problems, particularly those of a controversial nature. It is an effort to stimulate the social imagination of community members so that they may better understand the local community in terms of its functioning groups and see themselves and their opportunities in terms of group life.

Each chapter consists of a set of situations derived from the experiences of many communities and intended to stimulate thought and discussion of parallel aspects of the community experience of the reader. The cases are not to be regarded as exhaustive; but it is hoped that the exercise of tracing the results of given courses of action, and searching for the values implicit in each, may lead to a larger appreciation of the human tendencies at play and the bearing of these on the life of the community. While it has been the effort of the study to learn from the experiences of many communities, the principles that seemingly derive from that experience are put forth with all tentativeness: it is realized that what was true of one situation may not entirely hold for another. To meet this latter difficulty, the effort has been to analyze each situation into its simplest aspects—those which are apt to recur in almost any community, regardless of the issue about which the conflict centers. It is hoped that an awareness of the commonly fruitless ways of conflict may assist other communities which find themselves in similar situations to view their difficulties with perspective, and that the clues to more spacious results may be found in the latter half of the booklet. For the solution of each new problem there will be required the application of all that the social sciences have to contribute, plus a quickening

of interest in the creative possibilities inherent in the situation itself.

Obviously, the faith that human conflicts of every sort are resolvable, is over-optimistic. There is as yet no appropriate therapeutic for certain types of antagonism between individuals whom fixed ideas have made unmalleable. Similarly, groups also take on the characteristics of fixed entities, and become implacable and immovable. The time may, hopefully, arrive when all human conflict may be viewed in rational terms, but as yet the cause and cure of both individual and group statics still elude us. In the interim, progress may be made by attending to those homely and more or less normal types of conflict which occur in average communities. In such communities, the view is not unwarranted that all valid interests may be interwoven with the good of the whole, and that no interest which runs counter to that good can long thrive.

The use of the words "valid" and "good" in this connection is intended to imply neither a moralistic assumption nor a metaphysical view of value. They are here used to connote that conduct of life which gains for men "a maximum of varied satisfactions" and "a minimum of suppression and sacrifice." [1]

[1] See I. A. Richards, *The Principles of Literary Criticism,* Chap. VII, "A Psychological Theory of Value."

"What is good or valuable, we have said, is the exercise of impulses and the satisfaction of their appetencies. When we say that anything is good we mean that it satisfies, and by a good experience we mean one in which the impulses which make it are fulfilled and successful, adding as the necessary qualification that their exercise and satisfaction shall not interfere in any way with more important impulses. Importance we have seen to be a complicated matter, and which impulses are more important than others can only be discovered by an extensive inquiry into what actually hap-

With this end in view, interests cease to be isolated or antithetical, and take their place in a tissue of interrelated needs, desires, and activities. Some interests appear of lesser value than others, judged, that is, by the extent of the disturbance of other interests and activities which the realization or frustration of this interest would involve. No one interest can be evaluated apart from its effect upon the sum-total of other interests at stake.

It is to be hoped therefore that an awareness of community life may have wider implications. Perhaps the immediacy and apparency of the local community may provide the key to much that resists understanding in the more complex political units, and a study of this microcosm may offer a gradual induction into the larger spheres of national and international group relationships.

This study was sponsored by Mr. E. C. Lindeman. In 1926, Mr. Raymond G. Fuller undertook to gather the initial material and to observe cases of community conflict. His illness caused an interruption in the project. The work was resumed by Miss Helen Mayers in 1927.

The Inquiry will welcome a report of the reader's experiences with community conflict situations; these experiences, together with a continued accumulation of more trustworthy scientific facts, should even-

pens. The problem of morality then, the problem of how we are to obtain the greatest possible value from life, becomes a problem of organisation, both in the individual life and in the adjustment of individual lives to one another, and is delivered from all non-psychological ideas, from absolute goods and immediate convictions, which incidentally help greatly to give unnecessary stiffness and fixity to obsolescent codes. Without system, needless to say, value vanishes, since in a state of chaos important and trivial impulses alike are frustrated."

tually so modify the present outline as to bring into existence a much more useable and practicable volume. This outline is launched in its incomplete form with the hope that its future growth will come, not merely through the critical additions of social scientists but also through the contributions of community-conscious laymen who are living in situations which either do or do not aid in the discovery of improved techniques for social living. The Inquiry, therefore, invites those who find uses for the present outline to participate in a joint adventure of social discovery.

PART I

Clarifying the Situation

The level on which a controversy is waged is often a matter of greater importance than the victory of either side. If the victory of either means the triumph of the same irrational type of man, it makes little difference who wins.

Everett D. Martin.

CHAPTER I

The Conflict Mind-set

WE USUALLY find ourselves in the midst of conflict without realizing how we arrived there. Conflict is rarely discovered while it is yet imminent. It would, of course, help us to deal rationally with conflicts if we were sufficiently sensitive to be aware of those divergences of opinion, attitude, and interest which are the potential ingredients of all social discord; we might then begin such accommodations as might tend to keep the disagreement from reaching the stage of heated hostility and mutual blame. In another section we shall describe ways that have been found of anticipating divergence of opinion and interest and of accommodating these before the issue has become so heated as to create mutual hostility and blame. But in an overwhelmingly larger number of instances no such methods have been devised and we find ourselves in the midst of stubborn controversy and recrimination.

In cases of this second type, we are baffled in seeking ways and means of adjustment because of the fog of misunderstanding and mistrust which has arisen. Each group feels itself the champion of a righteous cause. Each sees the other as a force destructive of the values which it cherishes. The disagreement has then reached the stage of emo-

tional irrationality. Before we can hope for a sound disposition of the interests at clash, we must understand the emotions which present themselves as immediate. These emotions stand as barriers against the application of techniques for dealing with social conflict. If such techniques are ever to be made useful, it will be because we have come to understand the factors which combine to create the "conflict mind-set," and to distinguish between these emotional factors and the essential interest differences calling for adjustment.

The following cases[1] have been culled from a large number of community conflict situations and are intended to illustrate some of these emotional components of discord.

A. THE PERSONAL EQUATION

In attempting to understand a given conflict, it may be helpful to search out the individuals who stand as symbols of their respective groups. A situation that developed in an eastern community throws some light on the tendency to interpret group relations in terms of the personal relations of key members:

1. The former recreational worker had been a Northerner of liberal tendencies, who had made a point of cultivating the friendship of some of the colored women. During the period of her employ-

[1] Suggestions for the use of this material here presented and its relation to the reader's own experience will be found in the appendix, p. 128. The booklet will be found more helpful if the contents are read through before proceeding to a discussion of individual situations.

ment, the colored groups had been active and responsive, and relations had been harmonious. Then the new worker arrived. She was eager to act in accordance with a liberal social policy, yet was unable to maintain the same relationship with the colored women as her predecessor. The colored group noted her southern accent and the fact that she called one of their leaders by her first name. A change was apparent immediately. The colored group felt that they were not welcomed, but were merely endured, and their interest in the activities fell off. The leader who had been called by her first name dropped out, and with her went many others. The secretary interpreted this as a boycott; the white members condemned the colored as being concerned only to "climb into white society," and misunderstanding multiplied apace.

The Expanding Personality

The colored leaders and the worker may perhaps be more readily understood by considering Dr. Hornell Hart's conception of social motivation. He suggests *free functioning* as the aim of life:

"As we try to carry out this . . . aim, certain things and certain people prove to be helpful, while other things and other people interfere and thwart our purposes. Now we are all so constructed that we tend to adopt as parts of ourselves, or if you prefer, as annexes to ourselves, those things and people which help us to carry out our purposes. We treasure the becoming hat or the good-looking suit

which wins for us attention and approval; we adopt as dear friends those with whom we achieve things; we take in as allies and partners those who help us to wield power; we come to love those who share our griefs and sorrows. This process may be called the 'expansion of personality.'

"But the opposite process also goes on. Even the dog snarls and snaps at the iceman who has beaten him with his tongs. If we have to take orange juice with castor oil, we come to hate the orange juice, not for its own sake, but because it has become associated with a distasteful experience. How much more are we likely to become angry and bitter with people who block us off from achievement, who cause us to be disgraced, who take power from us, who despise and reject us! Such people become parts of one's antipathies and antagonisms; as contrasted with the expanded personality, they become parts of the 'anti-personality.'

"The expanded personality includes one's friends, allies, comrades, cherished belongings, one's inventions, ideas, hopes, and beliefs. In a very vital way, it includes one's job—just as long as that job is one's channel of achievement, one's claim to respect, one's source of livelihood, one's focus of comradeship and of shared experience. These parts of the expanded personality a person defends as he would his own body. He clings to them, and suffers when he is forced to be separated from them. He aids them, cares for them, and develops them. He believes in them; he thinks of them in terms of beauty and of admiration; he finds excuses for their faults. Do good to a man's expanded personality and you do good to him; do it ill and you rouse his resentment and resistance.

"Of course the expanded personality shades off gradually through a neutral zone into the anti-personality. The

boundaries, moreover, are not permanent and fixed, but shifting."[1]

Obviously, there are not enough facts given in the Halsey situation, referred to above, to provide the basis for a full discussion of all the elements (racial and organizational) involved. Nevertheless, the account tells us enough about the emotional forces at play to make it suitable as an illustration for our immediate purpose. If we project our imagination into the situation, we can recognize a conflict that derives from the functioning of two types of personalities. For discussion purposes it may be advisable to consider the effects produced by this diversity of personality upon similar relationships; e.g.:

1. The personality alliance between the first worker and the colored leader, involving:

a. The identification of the colored group with its leader;

b. The identification of the worker with the white organization and its program in the minds of the colored group;

c. The personality expansion of the colored group to include the white group, its organization and its activities.

2. The personality antagonism between the second worker and the colored leader, involving:

a. and b. As above;

c. The rejection by the colored group of the white group, its organization and activities and their incorporation in the "anti-personality" of the colored group;

d. The incorporation of the colored group in the "anti-personality" of the white group.

[1] Hornell Hart, an unpublished manuscript. For a more complete presentation of this concept and its application to a wide variety of situations, see *The Science of Social Relations* by the same author.

B. GROUP SECURITY

In consequence of the alliance of personalities, we frequently find a conflict between two individuals widening to include the entire circle of the associates of each. Particularly does this occur when one person is threatened or attacked in his capacity as a member of a given group. The "expanded personalities" of all his fellow-members are likewise threatened, and the attack is interpreted as an attack upon the group as a whole. The emotion of each individual reënforces and is reënforced by that of his neighbor and the cumulative reaction is likely to be heavily charged:

2. In Marsden, a thriving city of the Middle West, the school system was seriously disrupted by a controversy of long standing which often appears, with variations, under similar circumstances. The administration, including the superintendent, a group of principals and teachers who had allied themselves with him, and certain business groups, had been carrying forward an aggressive school program. Taxpaying interests had pressed hard for efficiency and economy. The superintendent and his allies worked enthusiastically toward this end. Concentration of power in the hands of the superintendent was the stated policy of the Board of Education. This concentration of power was opposed by the more active and independent individuals in the system, who came into conflict with the administration,

at first singly, then in cliques, and finally as a strongly united group.

The ways in which aggressive and independent individuals fell into the bad graces of this administration are illustrated by the histories of several teachers and principals. The first was a high school teacher who took a prominent part in the formation of the Teachers' Federation, thus allying himself with the group which took the stand that teachers' rights must be forced from the administration. At one time he published his views to the effect that the endeavor to keep down taxes was at the basis of the difficulties which the school had been experiencing, whereupon he was called in and charged with criticizing the administration. When he asserted that he had spoken as a parent and a private citizen, he was told that he would have to choose between functioning in that way and functioning as a teacher. At another time he gave to the newspapers an unsympathetic account of a meeting at which a resolution in favor of compulsory military drill had been passed, and he was told that if he wished to continue as a teacher, he would have to give up asserting his independence in this way as a citizen.

Another instance was that of a principal who had at one time been a candidate for the superintendency. There was much antagonism on both sides. The administration had tended to regard the inter-

ests of this principal as opposed to its own interests. He was reported to have asserted that his school was discriminated against, and that he was hampered by the "powers above." As a result, it has been claimed, he had shown some tendency to build up a group of teachers and of citizens attached to him in opposition to the administration.

Still another instance was that of Mr. M. Testimony from both sides of the controversy indicated that he had built up the loyalty of his teachers around his school and himself by taking their part even in conflict with the central administration. He opposed to the last ditch the discharge of certain older teachers whom the administration had decided to eliminate. He protected his teachers from pressure of work, so that his school had a reputation for unusual ease of teaching conditions. As a result, teachers in his school who were in danger of dismissal developed intense devotion to his cause. He acquired, moreover, the enthusiastic loyalty of the members of his local Parent-Teachers' Association, so that it demanded a hearing when he was dismissed, and turned out in numbers to support his claims.

Mr. M., as a Catholic, allied himself with those of his co-religionists who feel that the public school system is not doing justice to Catholic teachers, Catholic children, and Catholic tax-payers. He ran for membership on the school board. The admin-

istration saw in this move a further threat and turned its energies toward defeating him, even, it has been claimed, to the extent of getting a Protestant candidate to withdraw in order that two Catholics might be left to contend against each other on the ticket. When his candidacy failed, and when the administration finally got him into a position where it could force him out of the schools, his antagonism burst forth in a letter of bitter criticisms against the school system, which was published in the papers during the controversy.

The tragic possibilities in such conflicts were revealed by the suicide of Mr. K., a principal for over twenty years, vitally concerned in the schools. He had made a special study of intelligence tests. He was the author of a language text book, a former president of the Principals' Forum, and a member of the committee on organization of the Teachers' Retirement Fund Association. He was a member of the committee on tenure which met with the Board of Education. He is said to have been the first man in the system to advocate senior-junior high schools. The superintendent said, after the suicide, that Mr. K. was the best-read man on educational matters in the city. He was "wrapped up" in his school work. He had for years looked forward to recognition in the form of promotion. The superintendent told him that this purpose of his could not be fulfilled. Finally, it was decided to

transfer certain grades in his school to a new junior high school. Mr. K. wanted the principalship of the new school. A number of other candidates wanted the position. The administration decided that Mr. K.'s name could not be considered. Instead of the recognition he had craved, he found himself thwarted, restricted, and, he felt, repressed. He kept his bitterness to himself, but within he brooded over his defeat. He built up a plan by which he felt that his helpless antagonism might find outlet. He pictured his act as one of supreme sacrifice for the others who, he felt, were suffering with him. He wrote a letter of charges attacking the superintendent, mailed copies to the newspapers and to the members of the Board, and committed suicide in his own school building.

This action roused the emotions of everyone concerned. Those who were being hurt in any way by the school found justification and support in his charges and in his dramatic deed. Those who were neutral citizens and parents were shocked and stirred. The superintendent was deeply wounded. He shrank from discussing the matter. His friends, however, felt the need of defending the system of which they were a part, so they made this statement: "We only ask that those who read the accounts of Mr. K.'s death will remember that the statement was issued after his great, kind, finely-balanced mind had broken." At once the group

which was antagonistic to the schools, including the newspaper which had taken that side, retorted with an attack on the signers of this statement and on the superintendent.

In this series of personalities organized in greater or less antagonism to the administration, a central figure was Miss J., a public school teacher in the system for seventeen years. For two years she had been vice president of the Working People's League, and she was once vice president of the local Trades and Labor Assembly. She was an active leader in the Federation of Teachers, which is a teachers' union, allied with the American Federation of Labor. At one time she had run for Congress on the Farmer-Labor ticket. Before the World War she had been an English teacher. Early in the war period she became a visiting teacher and placement counselor, from which position she was dismissed some nine years later by the failure of the board to renew her contract. Numbers of teachers came to her support and voted to contribute toward a suit to test the validity of the dismissal. They felt that she had been unjustly treated and they feared her dismissal might prove a precedent for other irregular charges.

The school system, and by this time the community as a whole, had been split into camps. On the one hand were the superintendent and his friends, all those who had thrown in their lot more or less

wholeheartedly with the administration, a group of men and women for whom the United States and commercial and industrial Marsden were vivid loyalties, and who resented anything which smacked of criticism or attack, or of thwarting the American Government as now constituted, or of Greater Marsden, as visualized by them and their associates. On the other hand was a more heterogeneous group, including all those who, for personal, religious, or political and philosophical reasons, had found themselves thwarted by the system under which they were working, and many of whom felt that they were working not merely for their own rights, but for freedom and justice for the oppressed everywhere, for free speech, for industrial emancipation, for broader and more genuine democracy, and for international idealism. The conflict has been raging for six years and no solution is in sight.[1]

In this instance, we can trace the origin and reënforcement of conflict attitudes through:

1. The personality expansion of the superintendent and the identification of his partisans or allies with this expansion.
2. The personality expansion of some of the independent individuals in the school system.
3. The overlapping of these two areas of expansion (1 and 2 above).
4. The formation of a bloc of independent teachers in response to the threat to their individual expansions.

[1] For additional phases of this conflict see pp. 34 and 68.

5. The way in which the widening circles of allegiance and antagonism increased the insecurity of both groups and precipitated retaliation on the part of each.

[Some general problems which might be considered in this connection are:

1. The kinds of situations in which submission to centralized authority is necessary.
2. The probable effect of enforcing authority, as shown in
   a. The type of teachers;
   b. The quality of teaching;
   c. The development of the personality of the pupils.
3. The alternatives to centralized authority.[1]]

C. THE CIRCLE OF RESPONSE[2]

Besides spreading in ever-growing circles within a group, conflict is reënforced by the interaction between groups by a process to which the psychologists have given the name of *circular response.* If a man stumbles against a tree, the tree does nothing in return, and the man, after scowling a bit, walks on, forgetting his annoyance with the tree as soon as the pain is gone. The tree has made no response to the man's scowl, and the episode is over. But should this man, whom we shall call A, jostle against another man, whom we shall call B, and scowl, as he would at the tree, the other man B, instead of saying, "I'm sorry, excuse me," as he may have intended, will probably, on seeing the scowl, respond with a fiercer scowl—that is, he will

[1] See *Scientific Foundations of Business Administration,* edited by Henry C. Metcalf. Lecture X, "The Giving of Orders," by M. P. Follett.

[2] See F. H. Allport, *Social Psychology,* pp. 148-9. Also M. P. Follett, *Creative Experience,* Ch. III.

respond to A's response to him. B. will then probably respond to the fiercer scowl by a growl—that is, he will respond to B's response to his own original response to the jostling—and so on, until if neither sees the folly of what he is doing, this circle of response terminates in a brawl. Among groups, this mounting intensity of feeling and the urge to retaliate are most clearly seen in feuds and in wars between countries. To a less violent degree they are seen also in conflict between groups within communities. Once such a circle has been set up, the difficulty of breaking it increases in geometric proportions. It would seem pertinent, therefore, to examine some of the common ways in which such antagonistic emotions are generated or aggravated:

Change from Existing Conditions

It has been pointed out that conflict generally occurs at the point where a change from existing conditions is proposed. The first consideration would then seem to be the method of introducing new policies or of initiating activities in such a way as to insure cooperation and to prevent dissatisfaction and ill will. In the words of a committee of the American Association of University Professors,

> "The introduction of new policies, no matter what their content and intrinsic worth, is, under the most favorable circumstances, a difficult and delicate undertaking which requires for its success . . . the willingness to discuss freely and openly and over a considerable period of time the possible defects of these policies in order that whatever changes take place may be carried out with a minimum of friction and with the understanding and sympathetic support of all

concerned. . . . Haste is by itself sufficient to ruin the chances of success of any policy thus set before the other group." [1]

The situation which called forth the above comments was one which arose shortly after the election by the Board of Trustees in the University of X of Mr. C. as president of the university.

We quote further from the report:

3. "During the first four months of the academic year following the election, a situation had gradually developed which contained the possibilities of the serious trouble which subsequently was brought to public notice. President C., in his first two addresses to the Faculty of the College of Liberal Arts, created an atmosphere of insecurity with regard to changes in educational policy proposed by the President. In particular, he alarmed members of the Department of History and Economics by stating that history should be so taught as to build character, which seemed to imply that the instruction given in history was actually, for some reason, unsatisfactory, and by stating that teachers of Economics should avoid contentious questions—a policy which, if carried out, would in the opinion of many prevent Economics from being taught. During the same period, President C. made a determined effort to abolish the small classes which were actually being held. . . . At the same time he re-

[1] Bulletin of the A. A. U. P., October, 1927.

peatedly proclaimed that undergraduate work must be emphasized in preference to graduate work, a policy which it is now admitted had always been and was actually being followed by the Faculty of the College of Liberal Arts. But the President succeeded in creating the impression that such emphasis was a new policy of his own. He also proposed that departmental libraries be removed from their position under the control of various departments . . . and be concentrated in the general library, a policy which he later discovered to be unwise and impossible. In a position to which the President was strange, he set out to exercise his power to its full scope from his initial appearance upon the scene." [1]

For present purposes, that is, omitting from our discussion other aspects of this case, the important considerations are:

1. The changed situation following upon the new president's assumption of office
   a. The recency of the president's leadership;
   b. His lack of knowledge of the university problems and past experience;
   c. His attitude of superiority toward such knowledge;
   d. His effort to alter the pattern of the university by arbitrary methods.
2. The effect of the changed situation on the faculty group [2] as to
   a. Work habits;
   b. Professional standards;

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] See p. 8, "Group Security."

c. Economic security;
d. Sense of the worth of their special experience.

[It may be well to consider at this point alternatives the president might have employed,[1] and their effect upon:
1. The changes ultimately decided upon.
2. The faculty's attitude toward these changes.]

Plans Laid from Above

In the university situation just described the policies were apparently either of dubious wisdom or merely repetitions of existing policies. Frequently, however, proposed action may constitute an actual change and may be made with a sincere desire to benefit the whole. Yet failure to consult the needs of the other group concerned may lead to a miscarriage of the original intention:

4. In the small resort town of Lakeville friction arose over the Community House, which was presented by some of the wealthy summer residents for the use of the year-round population. The original plan discussed locally was for a building to the men who fell in the World War. A plan was prepared by the donors and the building erected in accordance with it. In the interval, the memorial idea had been lost sight of and in the present building there is no provision for any recognition of the men serving in the late war. These men appear to feel very much hurt, believe they would not be welcome, and do not feel kindly toward the present

[1] See p. 97, "Taking the Other Group Along in the Deliberations."

building. Other residents express the opinion that the building is not for the local people at all. Many men feel that there is no real provision for men's activities and that the building is only adapted to use by women and children. Men much interested in the community building say that they were never consulted and that they are unfamiliar with the plans of the present building. The young men say that to go to the Community House would be a waste of time as their needs along physical and recreational lines have been entirely overlooked. Likewise, no arrangements have been made for the high school and young business people's groups. The minister of one of the strongest churches in the town feels that the cooperation of the forces which he represents has not been sought, although he exercises a real community leadership and is willing to cooperate in any way for the good of the community.

In this instance, we find conflict engendered by an action by outsiders which ignored:

a. Local needs and desires;
b. Local leadership.

It may be well to consider the effects of such procedure on:

1. The usefulness of the project undertaken.
2. The "personality expansion" of the local leadership.
3. The development of the community ability to solve its own problems in the future.

[For a discussion of the reciprocal relation between any community project and the needs and desires of the community, see E. C. Lindeman, *The Community,* Chapter IX, "The Process of Community Action."]

Here is another instance in which the inadvertent ignoring of the other group caused a serious breach:

5. "Villages seem to forget easily the attitudes and needs of the farmers, and serious difficulty is sometimes caused by a relatively unimportant act. In two communities a storm in a teapot arose because of the assumption on the part of the village that all farmers drove automobiles. In one case, some hitching posts were removed, and in another the village government connived at the removal of a low watering trough which had stood for years at the intersection of two main streets and which had become an obstacle to automobiles driven rapidly through the center of the village. Even though a majority of the farmers did operate cars, these acts were interpreted by all as unfriendly to the rural interests. The farmers protested, but the villagers did not take their protests seriously. The farmers emphasized them by taking their trade to nearby towns. Then the protests were taken seriously, and hitching posts and watering trough were duly restored after bitter contests. The embattled farmers, however, argued that if the village had not been unfriendly to them, the removal of these conveniences would never have been attempted. If they

were to meet an unfriendly attitude in these villages, why should they deal there? Trade was slow in returning, and the villagers in turn became aggrieved at the failure of the farmers to respond to their surrender. In neither of these cases had the village authorities consulted with farm leaders as to the importance of the conveniences. The actions taken were exclusively from the village point of view. Probably it was this tacit assumption on the part of the village that it could act for the total community that the farmer resented, even though he admitted the right of the incorporated village to govern itself." [1]

In this case, as in the above, projects were initiated by one group without recognition of the interests of the group primarily affected. The main factors from the point of view of the farmers were:

1. The sudden interruption of habit.
2. The arbitrariness of the town's action.
3. The underlying traditional feeling of inferiority on the part of the farmer toward the townsman.[2]

Patronage

Similar to the resentment indicated above would seem to be the hatred of patronage and the consequent refusal to cooperate where differences in social status exist. Here is an incident bearing on this point:

[1] *American Agricultural Villages* by Brunner, Hughes and Patten, pp. 98-99.
[2] *Ibid.*, Chap. III, "Village and Country Relations."

6. The shabby little village of Brocton, whose people go daily to Silvercreek to serve in the palatial homes there, has been compared to Cinderella. In this case, however, the stepsister intended to be kind. For many years the wealthy ladies of Silvercreek had been contributing heavily to a day nursery and welfare organization which were created to meet the problems arising among the underprivileged of Brocton. As the activities of the organization grew, it became necessary to put the work on a more comprehensive basis. During a survey of the social needs of the community, Brocton people were called upon, at the suggestion of a trained executive, to assist in the plans; and in the revision of the constitution, provision was made for electing some of these men to the board. The feeling had begun to die down and it was hoped that, since Brocton was represented on the board, it would become aware of its own responsibilities and would increase its contributions. During the drive which followed soon after, however, a Silvercreek paper published an appeal for the association "which accomplishes so much for the slums of Brocton." The Brocton papers seized on this editorial and replied disagreeably—and subscriptions from Brocton were fewer than during previous years.[1]

[1] Taken from an account in *Community Organization* by W. W. Pettit.

7. In a small eastern township composed of two villages, one, Hillmont, very wealthy, the other, Manton, of laboring people, a day nursery for the children of the latter was established by the first group in Hillmont, who were sincerely desirous of helping. As the organization developed, an effort was made to procure more general participation. A consultant, sent from national headquarters, interviewed some of the Manton leaders: One pointed out that the people of his community had never taken an active interest; because each time they were approached by Hillmont people, the program was all "cut and dried" and ready, and they were told to support the plans made by Hillmont. Another told her that occasionally some of the men of his community had served on the Board, but soon lost interest since their one voice was overwhelmed in the strong tie-up among the members from Hillmont. He suggested that, for valuable testimony, someone interview the "corpses" of the Manton people who had been on the Board and had later declined service.

In each of the above instances we find:

1. Unwillingness to work with those of lower education and social status.
2. Consciousness of inferiority on the part of the latter.
3. Withholding of participation by them because of feeling that it is
   a. Not really essential to the project;
   b. Not sincerely desired by the dominant group.

Relative to the "cut and dried" programs complained of above, one correspondent writes:

"In my own community work I have had the hardest time of all in inducing officials and social organizations to get community problems out into the open early. They discuss them behind closed doors. They work out programs of action in the minutest detail. They think they have produced a perfect article. Then they flash it on the community full-grown, full-panoplied. When some profane and more or less dense caviller fails to recognize the divinity of the creation of their Jovian brain, they fly into a rage, and make scornful remarks about the intellectual capacity of the average citizen. The average citizen retorts in kind. And away they go in a rough and tumble fight which shows little or no merit on either side.

"We can save our scorn of the intelligence of the average citizen. What ails us is the stupidity of the official and promoting mind, the false technique of most community programming." [1]

Paternalism

8. In a New England textile community there existed a large church representing denomination X. The members of this congregation were upper-middle and upper class, owners of the textile mills, business and professional men, and their families. This same denomination maintained a mission church in the section of the city inhabited by working-class families.

A new minister was appointed to the mission church, a young man with co-operative, modern

[1] For possible alternatives, see "Long-time Planning," p. 99.

conceptions of the church and its mission. He soon began to agitate for an amalgamation of these two congregations, involving a new church property, and numerous other extensions of activity. His proposal was first presented to the Bishop of the area, who readily fell in with the notion. Next the young preacher put his plan before the members of the older church, consisting of the wealthier citizens; they too agreed with the proposal, and the pastor of this church replied, "Why, certainly; we can do a great deal for the mission congregation." Thereupon the preacher presented his plan to the members of his mission congregation, and they promptly and belligerently voted it down. As one working man member put the case: "We get bossed around by that crowd six days of the week, and we don't want to be bossed by them on Sundays."

It should be added that the young preacher was deeply hurt and disillusioned by the attitude of his congregation; he regards their action as a by-product of unreasoning class-consciousness.

The mill-workers in his congregation are divided about equally between union and non-union affiliation.

9. In another mill town in the South an employer with a fine spirit of altruism toward his employees decided to surprise them by announcing that he was to build for them an elaborate community house; the building was to include a theatre,

motion picture equipment, game rooms, shower-baths, a swimming-pool, etc. A few months after the building had been in operation this employer came to a friend in a state of grief. He said that his workers had displayed no appreciation for his gift and the thoughtfulness which he intended to convey; they had, in fact, already misused the building and had marred the furniture and walls. He was deeply distressed, and in his bitterness exclaimed: "Why, I wouldn't be surprised if they should ask for more wages even now."

In both these instances, the conflict attitude was evoked because of:

1. The desire of the employing group to determine activities for the working group, which the latter feel they should determine for themselves.
2. The refusal of a group to accept patronage when such acceptance implies increase of power, authority, or control by the donors.

[A discussion of the economic problems involved in these situations would manifestly carry us too far afield. These cases are described here as typical of the difficulties that arise in many types of majority-minority relations. For one alternative method of dealing with a majority-minority problem in group relationships, see "Aiding the Minority Group to Self-realization," p. 124.]

Lack of Confidence

The "false technique of community programming" may be responsible for lack of interest; it may

also be responsible for lack of understanding and consequent lack of confidence, as in the following incident, which occurred in a community in which relations between village and country are above the average:

10. "In the town the privately owned creamery and condensery took a real interest in its patrons, employed an agricultural agent to help them with their problems and frequently loaned them money when they could not obtain it from the banks. One of the two banks also catered to the farm trade and employed one man to assist its farm patrons and look after their business. In this community the state college of agriculture established a 'cost route.' For three years it employed an expert to keep careful records on costs of milk production under specified conditions upon some two dozen carefully selected farms. Toward the end of this period the agent began to arrive at tentative conclusions. The farmers were keenly interested; so were the creamery and the bank. These two institutions decided to invite all the farmers and their wives from these selected farms to a dinner in the village hotel at which the state college of agriculture's expert could present his conclusions and plans could be laid for improving the dairy farming of the community. Creamery, bank, and expert united in a letter of invitation. The effect was electric.

Two or three farmers refused to cooperate further with the experts. More refused to come to the dinner. "If the bank and the creamery are setting us up to a dinner they're going to get it back out of us somehow," was the usual statement to the amazed expert as he visited their farms. The expert's two years of constant contact with these farmers had not built up sufficient confidence in his integrity and that of the college of agriculture to prevent this explosion. The dinner was finally held, but not all the farmers came, and those who had withdrawn refused to return, thereby crippling the total experiment by just that much." [1]

As in the cases above dealing with paternalism, there existed in this case, also, a fundamental mistrust between groups. In the present case, this mistrust was directed:

a. At two economic institutions, the bank and the creamery, both of which had attempted in the past to render extra-routine services;

b. At the outside expert who had become identified in the minds of the farmers with the two suspected institutions.

In analyzing this case, it should be noted that:

1. The creamery and the bank had identified their interests with the interests of the farmers. The farmers on the contrary had maintained an independent concept of their economic interests.

2. The expert in this case apparently functioned as a subject-matter specialist and was obviously unaware of his possible rôle as social educator.

[1] *American Agricultural Villages,* p. 106.

Suspicion of Partisanship

Even greater awareness would seem to be required in handling those situations in which control of a joint project is vested in a member of one of the groups concerned. The least tendency to favor this member's group is apt to engender enough emotion to wreck the venture:

11. A small industrial exposition gave Parkston its first real boost in population. When the exposition was over, the little community which had once done all its buying at a general store in the center of town found itself possessed of a business section scattered over two parallel streets, which we will call X and Y Streets. The stores on X Street were mostly small food and clothing repair shops, stationery stores, etc., run by German, Greek, Jewish, and Chinese proprietors. They catered to the new, poor, and immigrant group. The larger and more prosperous bankers and business men, located on Y Street and a few of those on X Street, formed a business men's association. All went well until the presidency of Mr. Smith, a man influential in the community, well liked, and president of a bank on X Street, who was elected for his known capabilities and personal following in the club. Once he was in office, however, a feeling began to arise that he was shaping the club's policies to favor X Street

over Y Street. This quarrel between the men of the two streets completely severed friendly relations between the two groups and resulted in the Y Street men withdrawing and forming a new organization.

The important elements leading to conflict in this case appear to have been:

1. A sudden change in the situation and size of the community, which provided the basis for a division of interests.
2. The attempt to deal with the new situation through an organization representing both interests.
3. The difficulty of securing leadership for such a group which could serve in an impartial and disinterested manner.

[In addition, there may be considered here:

1. The advantages of a single cooperative organization over two competitive ones.
2. The possibility that superficially divergent interests may at bottom be mutual interests.[1]]

Subterfuge

In the following instance the community group learned at a heavy price what becomes of good-will and the ability to work together when deception has been practised:

12. Up to 1920, T., a village of about six hundred people, all Protestant and practically all native American, had three churches, an inactive Presbyterian church and struggling Methodist and Baptist churches, neither accomplishing much and both hav-

[1] See "Recognizing Identity of Interest," p. 110.

ing a hard time to pay small salaries to poor ministers. There was talk of combining forces. The Baptist church proposed that the other two should come into a Baptist union church on equal terms. The Methodist church met and agreed. All began at once to worship together, and the Sunday schools were combined. A committee of fifteen, five from each church, prepared a set of articles, making the members of all the original churches equal in the Baptist union church. These were formally ratified by the Baptist church itself, and by the Methodist church. After the ratification the Baptist minister, perhaps with the help of one woman member, inserted in pencil two new articles. One made the original members of the Baptist church the "constituent" members of the reorganized church; the other provided that after the original union all new members should be immersed. In so going back on his original support of the first plan, the minister is thought to have been influenced by the fear of losing his position, by the attitude of conservative members of his church and by the conviction of a denominational official that the church would not long remain a Baptist church. This change was discovered by Baptist members of the committee, and at a meeting of these men, the minister presiding, it was moved and passed that these additions be laid on the table. But the mischief was done. Union services ceased at once; the Methodists began separate

services with a "supply" and reopened their Sunday school.[1]

The important elements underlying the conflict in this situation appear to be:

1. The amalgamation of traditional institutions in which authority is not wholly vested in the local constituencies.
2. The entering upon an important cooperative agreement without fully recognizing the difficulties involved for
   a. The official;
   b. The external authority;
   c. The conservative factions unprepared for breaking long established traditions of belief.
3. The attempt to protect the group whose interests are in jeopardy by means which are in themselves contradictory to the end in view.

[Cooperation is not only an activity, it is also a state of mind, and can only be achieved by cooperative means. An alternative method to that used would be the recognition that barriers to cooperation such as those listed above, are the common concern of all desiring cooperation, and may fruitfully be submitted to joint consideration.[2]]

We have already had occasion to refer to the hostility between the administration and members of the teaching staff at Marsden, engendered by the administration attack upon the professional security of the staff. This hostility was heightened and spread to hitherto inactive persons following the use of the tactics indicated below:

[1] Study by Elizabeth R. Hooker, Institute for Social and Religious Research.

[2] See *Are There Too Many Churches in Our Town,* Inquiry publication, for a guide to the analysis of problems involved in such undertakings.

13. In connection with the problem of tenure and with that of salary revision, joint committees representative of the various teachers' organizations were formed to study these problems in conference with the administration and the school board. But difficulties arose: When Mrs. H. was president of the Class Room Teachers' Association, she had occasion to ask for a copy of the rules relating to tenure. The clerk asked whether she wanted the new rules or the old. This was her first intimation that the rules were to be changed. Questioning revealed the fact that the revised rules were practically ready to go to the printer. At first the opportunity to examine the new rules was refused. By persistent efforts, however, the president succeeded in holding up the printing of the new rules. At length she managed to get a copy and to persuade the administration to talk over with representatives of the teachers provisions which they regarded as objectionable. The rules were finally adopted with certain modifications suggested by the teachers. When, later, the suits relating to the recent discharges came up, it was discovered that all of the provisions with regard to ample notice, written charges, public hearings and the like, in which the teachers had trusted, were nullified by a rule which they had overlooked, or had never seen, stating that all teachers' contracts terminated at the end of each year.

After the appointment of a Committee of Ten to discuss teachers' tenure, the superintendent on his own initiative called together a sub-committee of three which drew up a statement for the whole committee to adopt. When this statement was read to the full committee, however, it appeared that, without consulting the three, a provision had been inserted that the school board should select the counsel of any teacher appearing before it for a hearing on his or her dismissal.[1]

The primary elements of conflict in this case are:

1. Group insecurity arising out of uncertainty of salary and tenure.
2. Defenselessness of the teachers' group against the method of subterfuge.
3. Submission to rules which are formulated ex-cathedra.

Absolutism

A diversity of mores may produce conflict when the situation is seen in black-white terms. If differences are considered absolute and irreconcilable, no effort to find common ground is made, and coercion and retaliation are resorted to:

14. There was in some quarters of Spring Hill an intense feeling against Sunday movies. Of the two or three moving picture men, one was prominent in church circles. When a committee initiated by the ministers to put Sunday movies under the ban

[1] For other aspects of this situation, see pp. 8 and 68.

began an intensive campaign, the moving picture men asked for a meeting with this committee, and, after discussion, stated that they would be willing to make the following agreement: to keep the moving picture houses closed at those times on Sunday when church services were being held. In other words, they would have moving picture houses open only during the afternoon. In addition, they would allow a committee appointed by the church groups to decide what pictures should be shown. The church committee refused these offers and insisted that the Sunday movies must go.

The church committee circulated among the citizens a questionnaire asking them to register their disapproval of the Sunday movie and to sign their names. Many citizens disapproved of this method and refused to sign. The church committee lost the contest and the Sunday movie is now allowed. Having antagonized the moving picture men, the committee has now lost even the concessions offered in the beginning.

This case might be considered for its light on reform methods in general. Reformers may be roughly divided into two general types:

a. Those who fix their zeal upon an ideal end and thenceforth pursue that end with uncompromising singleness of purpose;

b. Those who view reform as an educational process of creating an inner desire for the change, and therefore fix their attention upon attainable intermediate steps.

In the above case, it appears that the group desiring to reform a community situation regarding Sunday movies, was motivated by the conception of the first type mentioned above. The method employed may be considered from the point of view of:

1. The failure of the reform group to obtain its end, with the effect of this failure on their future leadership.

2. The alternative of the success of this reform group, involving

a. Forced acquiescence on the part of the movie men;

b. The problem of a community in which a coerced group awaits its turn for retaliation.

[The offer of the movie men, in providing for a meeting of the two groups to decide upon the type of movie to be displayed, opened the way for a joint examination of the fundamental philosophic attitudes which formed the essential differences between the two groups in the community.]

Failure to Confer

It may frequently happen that two groups whose functions are inter-dependent, find themselves in conflict through misconceptions which a plan of periodic conferring would have clarified before they had reached the point of antagonism:

15. The open break between the Family Service Society and the Community Fund in C. was the result of misunderstandings over a period of more than a year. The original plan of relief under which the society had operated was an arrangement with the municipality to supply the funds for relief, the Family Service Society to supply service and administration. The city appropriations were

granted piecemeal and did not involve any attempt to determine the possible total amounts for the year.

When, later, the relations with the city charities were terminated and a Community Fund was established, the Family Society continued to operate under the same essential plan: The Society had placed in its annual budget an item for relief under the assumption that the item might be increased at any time; the Fund had recognized the relief item under the belief that the Society could operate within the budget submitted, securing additional relief through the City Charities. The Society more than used up its entire relief budget in the first four months of the year, and as a result of the supplementary appropriations thereby required, the Fund then came to a recognition of the fact that no money could be relied upon from the City Charities.

Beginning in the middle of the year, the Society then made requisitions under two headings: work to be done on the basis of a reasonable monthly proportion of the total relief budget, and work to be done in addition if the Fund approved. In effect, the Community Fund, in thus constantly allowing the Society funds over and above its budget, helped it to return to the old policy of expenditures unrelated to its known resources. Thereafter, the Society moved in the direction of once more spending what it believed was needed for the relief of

its families, assuming that the Community Fund would foot the bills. For the following year, the Society requisitioned for the first two months more than half its annual allowance.

At the same time, another cause of criticism of the Society had been found by the Fund in the policy of the new executive, who, several years before, had realized that the Society was underdeveloped on its service side and had increased the staff by almost fifty per cent. The rate of expenditure for both service and relief, therefore, aroused the board of the Community Fund and led to open criticism by the president of the Fund. The Society defended its course by indicating the quality of the work done and the impossibility of doing good work on a standard too inflexible to adjust to the needs of individual cases. However, when the Fund passed a resolution definitely restricting the Society's expenditures to the initially approved budget, the Family Society adopted a rightabout face in its operating policy. After a careful study of cases, it curtailed its work sharply, reducing the families to which relief was given to approximately one-fourth the original number, retaining only those families requiring a substantial amount of relief, so that the average expenditure per family rose some thirty per cent.

For the next few months, the two organizations were scarcely on speaking terms. They disagreed on fundamental relief policies and hence could not

agree on what was to be said to citizens who wished the Society to care for other families than those for which it assumed responsibility under this strictly limited program. The Community Fund believed that relief should be "spread thin" over all families applying, without regard to its adequacy in individual cases, whereas the Family Society believed that, with limited funds, the best results would be obtainable if the intake and case load were limited to a point where reasonably adequate relief could be given in the most needy cases. On more than one occasion the Family Society had appealed to the Community Fund for an investigation of its methods and practices, if made by an impartial and competent person. These suggestions were not viewed favorably by the Community Fund.

In an atmosphere increasingly tense, the Family Society submitted its estimate of budget requirements for 1926 to include all cases, amounting to thirty-seven per cent more than the authorized appropriations of the preceding year. Action on the budget was deferred, and a conference was called in which the Family Society was given twenty-four hours in which to decide whether it would change its officers and policy or be excluded from the Fund. On the ground that the time given was too short for such important decisions, the Society held no meeting, and on the following day the Fund passed the

resolution excluding the Society from the 1926 campaign.[1]

Aside from the personal equations, which are not revealed in this account, the differences here seem to resolve themselves into conflicting viewpoints as to:

1. The availability of funds from the City.
2. The flexibility of the appropriation under the Community Fund.
3. The claims of quality as against quantity of service to be rendered by the Family Society.
4. The degree of program control vested in the Community Fund by reason of its guardianship over finances.

An impartial investigation set in motion at the proper time might have resolved this conflict before it reached the level of arbitrary demands. The "spread thin" versus the "limited intake" policy of family relief constitutes a technical problem, but a problem which needs to be considered in the light of the given community situation. Since the decision on this point necessarily involves finances, it seems clear that both the Community Fund and the Family Society were obliged to concur on policy. But the precise limits of authority of the Fund over the agencies for which it acted in a financial capacity had not, apparently, been established. The arbitrary method of excluding the Family Society from the Fund seems on face value to be alien to social work practises and philosophy. On the other hand, the Family Society by its persistent practise of exceeding budgets created a vexing problem for the Community Fund.

[The community as a whole might have profited by this

[1] Abridged from *The Survey*, May 15, 1926, p. 261. See also report of American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, May 10, 1926.

conflict if it had led to conferences and public expression directed toward an understanding of the quality or standard of social work desired and sanctioned by community opinion.]

Bringing Social Pressure to Bear

A frequent device in conflict situations is the bringing to bear on the opposing group of various kinds of social pressure, in an effort to force acceptance of a given program. An examination of some of these devices and the results obtained may prove illuminating:

a. Superiority Attitude

16. The solution of the zoning problems of Marvin, a growing suburb of a large city, was delayed for many months by the antagonisms between the Board of Aldermen of the town and the Zoning Commission. The commission was headed by a brilliant woman, prominent socially, positive, and assertive. Under her leadership the commission issued its commands upon the board in summary and self-righteous manner; and sought to shame the board into acting upon its recommendations by stressing publicly the commission's superior knowledge, social vision, etc. The conflict grew so bitter that the board at length abolished the commission, only to reorganize it a few weeks later with different personnel, who eventually succeeded in making progress without antagonizing the board.[1]

[1] For details of this solution see p. 91.

This case obviously involves a distinct personality problem, but for our present purpose the following aspects may be considered:

1. The confusion which arises when a group with specific functions is obliged to proceed under the sanction of another group possessing ultimate authority.
2. The reactions which follow when one group attempts to gain its end, no matter how worthy that end, by the procedure of sheer coercion. (In this instance the ultimate end was not defeated, but in many cases it is.)
3. The reduction of the community resources through the elimination of defeated leadership.

b. Voting

Utilizing the vote to join groups which are not one in spirit often results in widening the breach. The process of adjustment is short-circuited and the decision is made by a public in the grip of propaganda techniques, unaware of the many problems involved:

17. The legend goes that when the founder was planning the University of Carlson, he intended to make Springville the college town, but could not get its city fathers to prohibit the sale of liquors, so an old grant was bought two miles north of Springville and the university was built there. Most of the first settlers were university people and it has been largely controlled by university interests. It is highly restrictive, well governed by a commission, owns its own utilities, has no factories, and prides itself on its culture and its progressivism. Spring-

ville, of less than one-third its size, has canneries and factories, and houses most of Carlson's working population. Its government is considered poor, health conditions are bad, streets neglected, etc., so that eventually the idea of annexing grew up. According to the local law, Springville, as a smaller community, had to vote for annexation first, but there was strong opposition there. It was felt by many that the city fathers did not want to be out of a job, and it was feared that taxes would go up, that Carlson would get the best of everything, that Springville would remain poor, etc. The pro-annexationists argued that taxes would be no higher, that Springville would get more for its money, that streets would be paved and health regulated. There was very hard feeling up to and during the election, even to the extent of fighting in the polling places. In the end, the vote was for annexation, but immediately there was trouble over the questions: (1) Should Springville have a branch of the Carlson library? (2) Should Springville have Carlson garbage collection? (3) Should Springville be represented on the city council? Springville got all these in time, plus the street paving plan, re-zoning, etc. But the question still pops up in every case, "Is or is not Springville getting its share?" The "old gang" in Springville who lost a job when it ceased to be a town are always ready to

jump at the Carlson city government. The old feeling seems likely to go on for some time.

Conflicts of various kinds invariably arise in connection with annexation projects. The assimilation of one population group to another is a process fraught with many dangers, and such factors as the following need to be considered:

1. The different culture levels of the two groups which are to be made into one.
2. The fears which annexation precipitates, such as, in this case:
   a. The loss of independence;
   b. The increased cost;
   c. Absorption rather than assimilation.
3. The resentment of the smaller group's leaders, who lose followers and prestige by inclusion in the larger group.

Although annexation may receive the sanction of a majority vote and may in all superficial details be consummated, it is significant to note that chronic conflict may persist underneath. [For the consideration of alternative methods of community action through education, see "Long-time Planning," p. 99, also "Aiding the Minority Group to Self-realization," p. 124.]

c. The Law

A legal decision in favor of a given proposal does not necessarily mean that conflicting interests have been adjusted. An enforced abdication of power to a third party leaves the fundamental differences untouched, and the dispute may be carried to the last court in the land, while obvious means of settlement are overlooked:

18. "One village decided that its own school district was too small. A citizen, with the consent of the village council and school board, circulated a petition which proposed to add some twelve square miles to the village school district. This territory was so plotted that no existing country schools were included. Thus each of the country school districts lost taxable property, but, according to the plan, would have had to continue to support its own school. This would have meant an increase in taxes of some sixty per cent. Annexation to the village school district meant a similar increase to the farmers located within the twelve square miles. It was expected that in view of this equalization in taxation the outlying districts would close their schools and petition for consolidation. The rural school districts turned down the proposition. The case was brought to the County Common School Committee. Its decision was in favor of annexing the territory for reasons of greater efficiency and because a majority favored it, the majority being made up of villagers. This decision was sustained by the State Superintendent of Education, reversed by a Circuit Court, but confirmed by the Supreme Court of the state. The farmers secured the passage of a bill in the legislature dissolving this new district. The case is in the Circuit Court again and authorities say that it must finally go to the Supreme Court.

During all this time the farmers were first in, then out, and then in the proposed enlarged district. Now part of them are out and the rest are trying to get out. The court is called upon to interpret the detail of the law. Trade dropped off at the village stores very markedly and where before, according to all accounts, an unusually happy situation had existed between village and country, strife became the order of the day.

"Incredible as it may seem, this move was initiated by the village without any prior consultation with leaders among the farmers. The petition dwelt on the benefits of consolidation and compared the situation in this community unfavorably with that in others, but made no effort to show the farmer that he would benefit in proportion to his increased taxation. The question of transportation for grade pupils—a live issue with country people—was not mentioned. Instead of answering natural questions and meeting objections, the village resorted to legal means to gain its end. There was considerable open-country sentiment at the time in favor of a union high school, but instead of discovering and capitalizing this, village leaders from the outset sought to include all grades. Farmers charge that this was because the village had been ordered by the state to build a new school the cost of which they wanted the farmers to help bear. For whatever

reason, the total disregard of the country by the village will cost it heavily for years to come." [1]

This case might be discussed in terms of:

a. The general movement towards centralization of rural institutions, of which the consolidated school is a part;

b. The situations which are created when a reform agreed upon by specialists becomes incorporated in a law.

In this specific case, the important elements productive of conflict appear to have been:

1. The confusion arising out of lack of knowledge of existing sentiments and needs.[2]

2. The resort to legal pressure in lieu of consent educationally arrived at.[3]

3. The kinds of resistances and attitudes that result from legal encounters.[4]

4. The manner in which a conflict of this kind tends to permeate other aspects of community life.

5. The traditional attitude of the farmer toward the townsman.[5]

d. The Mass Meeting

19. Crowelltown was split for over a year when the yearly contract of Ames, the school superintendent, was rescinded. Almost the whole community entered into the ensuing fight between the partisans of the superintendent and those of the board. A

[1] *American Agricultural Villages* by Brunner, Hughes and Patten, pp. 102-103.
[2] See "Plans Laid from Above," p. 19.
[3] "Lack of Confidence," p. 27.
[4] See "Circle of Response," p. 15.
[5] See note 2, p. 22.

Teachers' Committee proposed that the superintendent apply for a short-term contract which was to be voted on at a board meeting early in the term. In the meantime, however, a public mass meeting was organized, which was dominated by the friends of the superintendent. There were some three or four hundred people there, all excited, calling for the resignation of the board. One citizen suggested at this meeting that a committee representing both sides and the neutral element be formed to canvass questions at issue and try to arrive at a fair conclusion. Mob feeling ran so high that the proposal was quickly shouted down, so quickly indeed that among more than a dozen persons who attended the meeting, only one (besides the man who made the proposal) could be found who remembered its ever having been made at all! The board, which had been meeting upstairs, came down to the auditorium and opened its own meeting to the public. It appeared later that the board would have accepted Ames' application but for the conduct in this mob meeting, following which it retired and voted against the application.[1]

This case involves many subtle factors which are not disclosed by the bare facts stated above.

Its pertinency for present purposes is derived from:

1. The use of the mass meeting in a highly controversial situation.

[1] For other aspects of this situation see p. 71.

2. A mass meeting procedure in which the stage is set for or against the proposed measure, in advance.

3. The feeling of futility which emerges in the face of mob confusion.

A common doubt as to the educational values of the mass meeting is expressed by one writer thus:

"Almost by necessity, public speaking leads to charlatanism. The orator must speak in headlines and capital letters. He must simplify and dilute. He must roar out, with punching emphasis and without modulation, what ought, in the interest of truth, to be uttered conversationally or in an undertone, with delicate shadings and qualifications. Jove, Jehovah, all the gods, are represented as having voices that could have filled Madison Square Garden without effort and without the use of amplifiers; yet they never attempted to address the Jewish or the Greek people en masse: all the important 'messages' were delivered to one or two auditors in lonely places in the mountains. No matter how hard a man tries, he can seldom speak truth to more than two or three persons at once." [1]

e. The Press

20. In Banning, an aristocratic colony near a large Eastern city, prevailing harmony was disrupted when a local community house was established and it was decided to exclude from membership in the house the colored boys, many of whom were participating freely and winning honors in the activities of the local high school. The reason given by the board was the fear of jeopardizing the

[1] Stuart Pratt Sherman, "To Business Men Only," *McNaught's Monthly,* February, 1926.

building campaign then in progress, and the colored group was asked to wait until some plan could be worked out. They waited for a year and when no action appeared forthcoming, one of the leaders wrote a letter to the local paper demanding a declaration of policy on the part of the board. There followed several days' controversy in the columns of the paper in which the points made by the colored leader were not disproved and several letters from white sympathizers came to his support. Yet the incident achieved no alteration in the minds of the board members. From that time on the board declared that the colored group had broken the pledge to wait for their decision. And they have since refused to consider the problem of colored membership.

The resort to the newspapers proved a weapon in the hands of the opposing group at the University of X:

21. The open breach between the faculty on the one hand and the president and the board on the other did not occur until the spring. In March, Professor J., a member of the Department of History, was notified of his dismissal on a technicality. The following day "there was published in the *Journal* a statement made by Professor G. [also of the Department of History] concerning the treatment of his colleague, Professor J., in which he demanded

redress for his colleague's unjust dismissal. He . . . was summoned before the Board at its meeting . . . The Board resolved to accept Professor G.'s resignation [which had been tendered simultaneously with the issuing of the statement to the press]. The Board also dismissed Professor G. from his classes for the remainder of the term and made a public statement in defense of its course. Subsequently the Board made the further charge that Professor G. had been guilty of an act of gross disloyalty to the university in his intentional injury to it by rushing to the newspapers." [1]

The report comments upon this action as follows:

"The committee feels that his [Professor G.'s] resort to the public press is a procedure which is, as a general rule, likely to produce diseases worse than the ills for which a remedy is sought." [1]

There are many instances in which the press has given opportunity for wide public discussion and illumination of the many phases of a controversy which might not otherwise have been fully understood. It is in many instances the only possibility left to an oppressed group. Under what conditions, then, is the use of the press helpful, when is it harmful?

It is, of course, primarily a weapon, a method of coercion. It may succeed in opening up the problem to a wider public and this public's opinion may then be exerted to lend weight to the demand for a consideration of elements hitherto overlooked. But it cannot in itself solve the conflict. The solu-

[1] Bulletin of the A. A. U. P., October, 1927.

tion must follow later, and the attitudes that are brought to the solution will depend upon the manner and tone of the newspaper discussion. There will be less basis for the resentment against the resort to the press if the opposition is informed that the matter is to be opened up there, and opportunity given for a presentation of both viewpoints. Such an attitude is better calculated, also, to win public support, than the method of attack resorted to in the following instance:

22. Rhondale had spent her taxes liberally on schools. The buildings warranted the pride the community took in them and the new superintendent was raising the educational standards to the point where they had become models for the nearby university training center. It soon appeared, however, that the community was outgrowing its equipment and it was proposed to vote bonds to finance additional buildings. Many of the citizenry opposed this increase in their tax burdens. The dispute grew so heated that the most prominent local newspaper, which was owned by one of the largest propertied families in town, began scurrilous attacks on the school board and the person of the superintendent. The majority of persons were antagonized by these attacks and rallied to the defense of the superintendent. The opposition lost the following election when the bonds were voted and it never succeeded in electing to the board any member not devoted to the "Better Schools" program.[1]

[1] For other aspects of this situation, see p. 76.

Stifling Conflict

Coercion may be as frequently employed negatively, to crush criticism, as it is positively, to compel agreement. The results, in terms of human responses, are substantially the same.

a. Denying the Opportunity for Discussion

A frequent means of crushing criticism is to deny the opportunity for the airing of differences. The effectiveness of this method in promoting a harmonious working relationship may be judged from the following occasion when it was resorted to in the course of the controversy at the University of X, previously referred to.[1]

23. "The immediate outcome of the Faculty's request for a thorough and impartial investigation was the consent of the Board of Trustees to hold a conference with the Faculty. . . . One of the Trustees was chairman of the conference. . . . Assurance was given that every one should have the opportunity to express his sentiments. . . . Dean A. testified that, until September 1926, the College of Liberal Arts was a going concern with a minimum of internal jealousy and internal friction. Since September a feeling of dissatisfaction had arisen, which increased steadily until the Faculty meeting on March 21st, which requested the Board to make inquiry in behalf of the Faculty. Dean A. asked

[1] See pp. 17, 51.

that the Board receive the Faculty report containing its statement of the causes of unrest. The chairman ruled that the report should not now be received and that the conference must proceed according to the fixed plan . . . and from that moment on the whole conference was reduced to personal statements made by members of the Faculty who were interrogated at pleasure by members of the Board, but who were refused the privilege of putting any questions themselves. . . .

"It must be noted that the refusal of the chairman to allow the Faculty committee to present the material which it had gathered, together with the Board's violation of its promise that all parties to the conference should have an opportunity to suggest remedies, and its denial to members of the Faculty of the privilege of interrogating the Board, resulted in altering the whole nature of the conference. . . . Shortly after the conference, the Faculty of the College of Liberal Arts presented to the Board a petition signed by thirty-nine of the forty-seven members, requesting the removal of the President and making twenty-two formal charges against the President's administration. It is clear, therefore, that the unforeseen result of the conference was to make a wider breach between the Faculty, the Board, and the President than had existed previous to the conference or during its early stages. The demand for the removal of the

President obviously represents a complete change in policy on the part of the Faculty. . . . It is clear from the evidence that the Faculty made its request for President C.'s resignation only after the Board of Trustees had, by their own rulings, altered the conference from an investigation undertaken in the hope of remedies to a trial of the President. The Board is therefore directly responsible for the extreme course which the Faculty pursued." [1]

The description of this case includes all the pertinent factors for discussion. In fact, the description is so complete that it is likely to draw discussion off into numerous channels. For present purposes, it will be advisable, however, to keep the discussion on:

1. The arbitrariness of the hearing, based on
a. The organization of the university on a chief-subordinate pattern;
b. The board's apparent feeling of responsibility for protecting the president from criticism by his subordinates.

2. The reaction of the faculty, due to
a. Unwillingness to accept their implied position as subordinates;
b. Fears for outcome in which their viewpoint would be ignored.

b. Threatening the Job

A more explicit method of driving discontent underground was resorted to later in the course of the same controversy:

[1] Bulletin of the A. A. U. P., October, 1927.

24. The professors who had signed the petition for the removal of the President were notified by the Board that the controversy "has been considered by the Board with all the care of which it is capable and has been decided by it. . . . The Board wishes that every Faculty member, who in good faith can and will accept the decision of the Board and will cooperate with it and President C., remain on the faculty. . . . [or else he] must step aside . . . that decision must be accepted as final. And the President, the Faculty and the Board should now work together harmoniously and whole-heartedly in the efficient performance of their duty looking to the upbuilding and success of the university." [1]

The local paper comments as follows:

"Truly a psychological curiosity—a weird conception of human nature—that these Faculty members can swallow their self-respect, subscribe to the Board's decision discrediting them, and yet work together with and under the Board and the president 'harmoniously and whole-heartedly.' They are given until June 10th to inform the Board that they accept the decision. Their acceptance will be assumed should they fail to reply to the Board's ultimatum. More queer psychology. Should these thirty-nine Faculty members, under the duress of the Board, rather than lose their jobs now, fail to reply to the Board's dogmatic decree, their silence will be

[1] *Ibid.*

regarded as acceptance of the Board's decision dishonoring them, yet they will be expected to work together with the Board and the President harmoniously and whole-heartedly in the efficient performance of their duties. Surely a remarkable way of promoting the spirit requested for the development and conduct of a real university."

In the affairs between nations, the ultimatum is employed for purposes of shutting off discussion of issues. Obviously, this same purpose was involved in the above case, but, as the newspaper editorial indicates, the use of the ultimatum here also precluded the possibility of achieving the end in view, namely, harmony and cooperation. [Various other uses of final demands may be discussed at this point for purposes of comparison.]

Sometimes this economic weapon is more subtly wielded:

25. In Banning,[1] where the problem of the exclusion of the colored group from membership in the Community House arose, the action of the House Committee aroused great antagonism among the ministers. To the remark of one that this exclusion was a great mistake, a fellow clergyman was heard to answer, "It is not only a mistake; it is a damnable sin." The members of the Community House Board, however, were in many cases important contributors to and influential within their own churches. One minister was approached by one of

[1] See p. 50.

these board men, a trustee of his own church, in an effort to get him to hold off his criticism of the Community House policy. Similar pressure was brought to bear on the other ministers. Only one minister, who felt himself financially secure, made any effort to awaken his community's conscience, but he could gain no support from his fellow ministers. His colleague who had earlier considered the exclusion a "damnable sin" no longer had any interest in discussing the matter.

Although no specific threat of an economic nature is indicated in the above case, it is clearly manifest that the influential contributors effectively used their power in silencing their pastors. The important consideration here is, of course, the manner in which professional leadership is cut off from realistic participation in community conflicts because of its economic dependence.

c. Appeals to Conflicting Interest

26. The social agencies of a booming Florida town which had grown beyond its public health facilities, had recently called in an able health commissioner of national reputation. But this commissioner's efforts were baulked at every point by the unwillingness of the business men to give publicity to the town's health needs lest the dangerous conditions be made known and tourists and investors be frightened away.

As in Ibsen's *Pillars of Society,* an essential community good was here frustrated by the fear of economic loss. In this case, two values were set over against each other as though they were antithetical, and thought and activity were, therefore, blocked. Yet physical and economic welfare might, of course, have been considered as complementary values and been so presented to the business interests.[1]

d. Appeals to "Breeding" and "Loyalty"

27. In Landor, a wealthy eastern colony, almost solidly Republican, a question arose as to the safety of the location which the water commissioners had chosen for the new water wells. The efforts of some of the citizens to determine the actual dangers of contamination and the possibility of locating the wells elsewhere, were violently opposed. The party leaders declared them traitorous to the best interests of their party, and deprecated the "poor taste" which permitted these people to question the integrity of the water commissioners, neighbors, who had been known to them through many years. For the first time in the history of the colony, Democratic nominees were put in office as a result of the backing of the disaffected Republicans. It was later proven that the wells were safe and the site well chosen from the point of view of engineering and long time economy. Yet the appeals used prolonged the controversy by creating a suspicion in the minds

[1] See Introduction, p. xvi.

of independents that they were being made to cover up an unsavory transaction.

Here, again, is an illustration of a conflict arising out of a confusion of values. The manner in which this technical problem was transferred to the level of social and political concerns indicates how discussion may be stifled by an appeal to non-technical values. In this case, the appeal was made to political party loyalty which consequently became more important than the main issue. It might, of course, have been pointed out that loyalty to party and to community were not opposed but interdependent and that the best service to the party lay in the repudiation of any activity which could not prove its validity. Appeals of this kind are similar in effect to the use of an ultimatum. So at the University of X, the demand of the trustees was that the faculty submit to the decision of the board and the president because of the loyalty "due" their office—with what success has already been indicated.[1] It becomes pertinent to discuss at this point the various types of loyalty which are used as resources in community conflicts.

This chapter has been devoted to an examination of those methods employed in various types of social situations which precipitated an antagonistic circle of response. No effort has here been made to evaluate the specific objectives at stake in each case. Yet it has been inevitable that in many instances the discussion of method should find itself involved in a discussion of content, for the two are inextricably bound up with one another. Thus, when plans are laid from above,[2] the resulting building is unsatis-

[1] See p. 54.
[2] See p. 19.

factory by virtue of this unsatisfactory method; joint planning would have produced a unifying and usable community house.

The most pointed illustration of the interrelation of method and content of conflict is indicated in the controversy between the Community Fund and the Family Society.[1] Here, not a faulty method, but the very absence of a wise method, resulted in the growth of differences. The category, "Failure to Confer," under which this case is listed, would seem almost equally applicable to every other instance cited in this chapter. In each, some method of joint facing of the problem involved would have avoided much of the bad blood and cleared the way for an unbiassed examination of intrinsic differences.

Where, however, the "will to confer" is lacking, where, as at the University of X, there was apparent no recognition of the faculty as a body whose interests were of equal validity with those of the board and the president, the question of a joint search for the solution of the conflict becomes somewhat artificial. Where a group aims to ignore the social process, it must be drawn into it, even though it be necessary to resort to coercion. While in most instances, coercion proves abortive, in such a situation, no other method seems available. Thus, the resort to the newspapers, or the mass-meeting, or any other form of social pressure, may often be unavoidable as a means of protection against arbitrary authority: coercion through denial must be met by coercion through social pressure. The question then becomes one of the purpose and extent of the use of such tactics. In general, such pressure

[1] See p. 37.

would seem to have achieved its ends once it has convinced the opposition of the need for conference in place of coercion. Thus the League of Nations would use force to compel the abnegation of force. When pressure has produced the "will to confer," it has served its purpose. Any use of pressure which goes beyond this, to the enforcing of a specific solution not jointly arrived at, would seem to overstep the limits of its usefulness and to become but another source of strife.

CHAPTER II

Discrimination of Intrinsic and Derivative Issues

WE HAVE, in the situations discussed in the preceding chapter, examined some of the ways in which conflict is engendered, and some of the devices commonly resorted to in the heat of controversy. For the most part, we saw, these devices did not succeed in overcoming opposition. What success they achieved was at best merely an opportunist success. In every instance, bitterness, dissension, and the breakdown of the normal functioning of the group were the outcome. The chapter might well have been entitled "What Not To Do." But once done, once these methods have been used, we can recognize their misdirection, abandon them if they have been the methods of our own group, or understand our own reactions if they have been employed by others against us. We can then turn our attention from what, in the last analysis, are irrelevancies and, with less danger of emotional bias, attempt to analyze the problem further.

What, then, are some of the special factors in the situation which are misleading us and preventing us from clearly visualizing the essential points of agreement and disagreement? In the accounts that follow we shall find groups contending with one another because they misunderstand or ignore important elements in the situation. As we observe

more closely the nature of some of these situations, we shall discover such lack of information about the issues which form the storm center and about the forces working against reconciliation; and we shall recognize the part this unawareness plays in the conflict experience of the community. Only on the basis of such understanding and revaluation of the conflicting interests are we prepared to seek out the legitimate needs represented by either side.

A. SUBSTITUTION OF ISSUES

Private Gain Represented as Community Interest

28. "The small town of B. saw a bitter struggle over the building of a new school auditorium. The superintendent came out in favor of the auditorium, not only for the school but for the town meeting as well. Every public meeting that didn't properly belong in the churches had to be held in an old fire-trap, called the opera-house. Although the auditorium was finally built, the proposal stirred trouble. The man who owned the opera-house had five brothers in town and more cousins than you can count. He had been making five dollars a night renting his hall. Once there was a free meeting-place there would be less business. So he got his father-in-law elected on the school board. He stirred up his whole family, and they fought. They called it a fight against additional taxes, but behind

that was a fight to make five dollars a meeting for the owner of the opera-house." [1]

Whereas, in Chapter I we were dealing with methods and processes which either precipitated conflict or which forced conflict to an emotional level, in the case above we begin an analysis of such special factors as are likely to obscure the main issue. Conflict pursued under misconceptions cannot possibly lead to fruitful results. It is, of course, too hopeful to expect that all conflicts can be resolved once misunderstanding is dispelled, but reducing the conflict to realistic terms is an essential step in such a procedure. In the above case, for example, the total situation could not have been clarified so long as the community failed to discover and to make frank distinction between factors involved in:

1. A community auditorium in the school house.
2. Increase in taxation.
3. The opera-house owner's personal stake.

Private Attitude Represented as Community Opinion

Somewhat similar in intent and effect may be the effort on the part of one or a few individuals so to represent their own judgment on a given subject as to make it appear the attitude of a far larger group, the general feeling of the community, or of a responsible portion of it:

29. In the small suburban community of Hawthorn there was talk of asking for the resignation of the school principal. Two members of the Board of Education held that the community was dissatisfied with the principal's services, and they succeeded

[1] See note, p. xi.

in convincing two other members of the necessity of removing him. The news came as a total surprise to the fifth member, who was close to the community as a whole and had been unaware of any such general expression of dissatisfaction as was said to exist. She urged that the board wait before requesting the resignation, and then, with the aid of several other citizens, circulated a petition asking those parents to sign who wished to see the principal retained. All but a small number expressed themselves in favor of his retention. It later developed that the opposition to the principal was confined to a few parents who nurtured petty personal grievances against him, but this handful had been so vociferous in their criticisms as to give the appearance of widespread disaffection.

Situations of this type arise in almost every community. The institutions most susceptible to this kind of conflict are those forms of community organization, like the school, the church, or the social agency, in which control is direct, and the contacts of the public servants may readily be interpreted in personal terms. An important element in the above case is the attempt to discover true community attitudes as distinguished from the personal bias of the few.

B. BACKGROUND OF ISSUES

Precipitating Event One of Series

It is frequently helpful to remember that the immediate event which precipitates a conflict is most often only the latest of what may have been a long

preceding series. Misunderstandings are usually cumulative:

30. In Marsden, the attention of the community was focussed upon the school system when Miss J., one of the leading spirits of the Teachers' Union, was dismissed through the administration's failure to renew her contract. Immediately sides were taken in the ensuing quarrel between Miss J. and the superintendent. Investigation later uncovered a long series of events not generally known, leading up to this outbreak: On the one hand, the increasing autocratic centralization of authority in the hands of the superintendent, the opposition of several principals to the central administration, the failure of several independent personalities among the teachers to receive promotion because of their unsympathetic attitude toward the administration and, finally, the suicide of one of these in protest against the injustices practised by the superintendent. On the other hand was revealed a long series of petty frictions, hostilities, and insubordinations between Miss J. and her immediate superiors in the school system, with repeated efforts to adjust these on the part of the latter, extending over a period of two years.[1]

All human events belong, of course, to cumulative series, and it is not always profitable to go through the process of unravelling each sequence in relation to a given event. On

[1] See p. 8 for details of this controversy.

the other hand, failure to see the relation between an immediate conflict and its preceding causal factors frequently prevents understanding and consequently rational treatment of the current conflict. In the above case, the conflict between Miss J. and the superintendent seemed to the community to arise suddenly, whereas it was clearly the result of antecedent trends and events.

The committee of the A. A. U. P., which investigated the case at the University of X,[1] recognized this factor of the inter-relationship of single conflict event and the total sequence. Their report remarks:

31. "In view of the fact that the board and the president at one time, in a public statement, made an effort to place the sole or principal responsibility for the trouble on the shoulders of one man, Professor G., the committee feels itself compelled to say that in its opinion . . . the so-called 'G. case' is merely an item in a vast body of facts, and that it cannot be understood or judged apart from the whole history of the year 1926-27 at the University of X." [2]

Revival of Old Alignments

It may be profitable, therefore, to examine a community situation in the perspective of past events, in order to determine the extent to which the present conflict may be based on a revival of earlier conflicts, perhaps hitherto considered peaceably solved:

[1] See p. 17 for other phases of this conflict.
[2] Bulletin of the A. A. U. P., October, 1927.

32. Ten years ago the only bank in Oakwood was the People's National. Then disaffection arose among the officers and trustees, and all the Methodists withdrew and established the Citizens' Bank, leaving only Baptists in charge of the original institution. Five years later, for business reasons, the two banks united with an equal number of Methodists and Baptists as officers and a Methodist president. All went smoothly, the bank prospered and sectarian distinctions in the bank were beginning to disappear, when one day a Baptist approached the Methodist president, and said that sectarianism was strong in the community, so that it would be better for him to resign the presidency and give a Baptist a chance to become president for a while. The president grew angry and withdrew entirely from the bank, together with most of the other Methodists on the board.

The revival of conflict in this case may, of course, have been precipitated by the Baptist citizen without due respect for the actual attitude of the community as a whole; but, for present purposes, it is enough to recognize that his action caused the situation to revert to the level of former alignment and conflict. This reversion might have been prevented by some form of fact-finding designed to reveal the true contemporary attitude of the community. Also, the situation might have been clarified if office-holding in the bank could have been discussed on the basis of capacity and effectiveness rather than sectarian allegiance.

C. OBSCURING OF ISSUES

Irrelevancies

As a corollary of the above may be seen the complication of the specific problem by the introduction of many irrelevant conflicts, until the original issue is lost in the mêlée:

33. Ames and Marlowe had been warm friends since Marlowe, as President of the Board of Education in Crowellton, had sponsored the move to invite Ames to take the job of Superintendent of Schools in the town. But difficulties soon arose: A teacher had been discharged for immoral conduct, both Ames and Marlowe concurring in the discharge. Later, however, Marlowe was won to sympathy by a visit from the young woman's father and asked Ames to take her back. Ames, standing firm upon his original decision, refused. Marlowe pressed; Ames grew adamant. The old cordial relationship between the two men now became strained. Marlowe was reported to have said that he would "get Ames" and clamored for his dismissal. The dispute between the faction supporting Ames and that behind Marlowe then ramified to every phase of the community life. Several years before, there had been considerable heat aroused over the choice of the site for the new school building. Marlowe had favored the site which was finally chosen. Those who had likewise

favored it now took up the battle against Ames, while those who had opposed it came to Ames' support. Similarly, Marlowe's intimacy with the Kleagle of the Klan brought the Klan forces to his side, and turned the Catholics to the support of Ames, though he was himself a Presbyterian. At the same time, Baker, an old political rival of Marlowe from the other side of town, came to the defense of Ames with his colleagues, and the situation was further involved by local political intrigues. Enemies of long standing took sides with whomever the other happened to oppose. The original question of the dismissal of the two teachers ceased almost at once to be the chief factor in determining alignments.[1]

The two related issues in this case were obviously:

1. The justifiableness of the teacher's dismissal.
2. The fitness of the superintendent for his task.

Once other allegiances were introduced, discussions of the case drifted farther and farther away from these issues. Indeed, they were almost lost sight of in the web of the spreading and unrelated conflicts. This conflict might have developed more fruitfully if Marlowe, Ames, and the Board of Education could have kept the discussion within the context of school administration problems.

Politics and Community Issues

Wherever the issue is allowed to be befuddled by irrelevant political considerations, the outcome is

[1] See p. 48 for other phases of this controversy.

apt to be determined by these rather than by the demands of the particular problem involved:

34. In Landor,[1] all discussion of the possibly unsafe location of the new water wells was completely submerged in party politics. The Republicans were in office when the doubtful site was chosen. From that time on, one's attitude on water was determined by one's party affiliations. Democrats and Independents were all convinced that the water was a menace to the community's health which even the disagreeable chlorine could not remove. Republicans were all committed to the charms of chlorinated water and the retention of the wells for economy's sake. The word "water" became a cue to set off party wrangling.

On the other hand, it should also be recognized that valid political issues are often confused by conflicts that masquerade under very different colors:

35. About five years ago, the Klan was organized in Nolan, a far western city with almost no Catholic, Jewish, or colored population. Nevertheless, some of the leading men became interested in the organization, which grew very strong, splitting the town of ten thousand into about equal parts. A counter organization was set up, known as the Constitutionalists, appealing to those who were not in the Klan. Practically all of the lodges, churches,

[1] See p. 60 for other aspects of this situation.

and clubs were split. Each side put up a ticket at the city elections. The Klan's functions were entirely political, although it still acted under the old insignia and utilized the original Klan appeals. The anti-Klansmen likewise were organized for political control and were essentially the same in race, religion, and political philosophy. The struggle has had no influence on the non-Protestants; it has merely served to divide the Protestants.

In the Landor case, politics tended to befog the water-supply issue, whereas, in the Nolan case, political problems were reduced to the level of sectarian and racial prejudices. In both cases, however, one sees how real issues tend to be transmuted by appeals to allegiances which have no necessary relation to the issue. When this happens, the community's interests are obviously sacrificed. Witness, for example, the manner in which Mayor William Thompson of Chicago generated anti-British sentiment in order to win the votes of other foreign groups.

D. PRECIPITATION OF ISSUES

Rival Organizations

In some instances, conflict arises between two organizations occupying the same field:

36. The small city of Banton had an unusually large number of social work organizations. A visiting investigator from a national association found intense hostility and suspicion between two organi-

zations doing work with girls, and reported: "In spite of the fact that the Woman's Alliance had been organized for twelve years and was practically doing the same work which the League would do—except that it is lacking trained leadership—the League came in and set up a duplicate organization. It would seem as though it might have been possible to have pointed the way to the Woman's Alliance for their future development so that they might have met the situation without adding another agency to the community. . . . It seemed to me that the League would have enhanced its own prestige in the community if it had surveyed the field and showed the Woman's Alliance its weaknesses and offered them help in developing to meet those needs. . . . It does seem as if the League might even have pointed the way to increased activities in other fields for the Woman's Alliance, if the League insisted on coming in; or, what would have been more farsighted, they might have recommended to the Alliance the very things which were proving successful to the League in its work and then have stimulated some other agency to go into the work in the health field, which had been wholly neglected . . . Instead, they have built up a duplicate organization, and most of the people in the community do not feel that both organizations can be supported."

The report of the investigator in this case includes an adequate summary of the issues as well as suggested devices for resolving the conflict. For present purposes, the important consideration is the emergence of conflict due to lack of foresight and community planning. There is considerable current discussion regarding duplication of effort among social agencies, and there are numerous national, state, and local councils designed to prevent such rivalry as was precipitated in the above instance. It seems, however, that the real corrective needs to come from the community itself. If the local community possesses no adequate means for discovering its own needs and for integrating its own resources, rivalries between similar agencies are likely to occur through sheer lack of community perspective.

Rival Leadership

It frequently happens that this type of organizational overlapping is, upon investigation, found to narrow to a rivalry between leaders:

37. In the suburban community of Rhondale, the problem of the location of a new branch library served as another occasion for fanning the flames of the town controversy. It was but another aspect of the long continuing rivalry between Mr. and Mrs. Benson and Mr. and Mrs. Thompson. The Bensons and the Thompsons have for five years been on opposite sides of every civic question that has been presented to the community. The Thompsons are the leaders in the Rhondale Community League, while the Bensons are leaders in the Rhondale Civic Association. Through these

organizations they are very active in promoting civic enterprises, but the two organizations never cooperate. Both the Bensons are active in Republican politics, while the Thompsons are of the liberal persuasion and voted for LaFollette. Mr. Benson was a West Pointer and is president of the local American Legion. Mrs. Benson has been heard to express her disapproval of the local Chinese laundryman because he took his family to ride on Sunday in a Ford automobile, which showed he didn't know his place. The Bensons have pronounced social and political ambitions, and the Thompsons delight in puncturing what they consider the pretensions of the other family. Most of the difficulty in the community is due to the conflicting temperaments of these two families. They cannot agree on anything, and whatever one family proposes the other opposes.

38. An organization designed to do community work through the schools was, some fifteen years ago, set up in a southern state. It was conceived by a leading woman of the capital city, who remained its president and guide during all of its development. Parents and teachers and citizens generally became members of local groups which considered the needs of each community and then devised means for meeting those needs. A national organization, also designed to bring together school and

community, had never promoted its program in this state. Recently, however, another woman leader began a promotion campaign which gave rise to an intense conflict. The older organization had been in the habit of securing funds for its work through state appropriations and had again put in its claims to the legislature. The governor of the state thereupon concluded that he would not countenance any appropriation until the two rival organizations had come to some agreement. This conflict still continues, but the main issues which have to do with community welfare have in large measure been eliminated; the conflict revolves about the ambitions of the two women leaders, each insisting that the other aims to use the organization merely for political purposes. No resolution of the conflict is in sight.

Rival leadership is almost universal in all communities. It serves both to initiate conflicts and to complicate conflict situations arising from other sources, as indicated in the two cases cited above. In the Rhondale case, it is obvious that all community issues tend to revolve about the respective influences of the two leading families. This means that conflicts arise and are defined, not realistically, due to differences intrinsic in the nature of the undertaking, but derivatively, due to the antagonisms of individuals. Likewise, in the second case, the intensity of rival leadership increased at the expense of the welfare of many communities. Rival leadership that leads to valid criticism and scrutiny may be wholesome, but it becomes inimical to community

welfare when it grows chronic and gives rise to differentiation not in quality but in auspices.[1]

Fomenting a Divided Opposition

It may sometimes happen that a person or persons find it to their advantage to stimulate conflict between two groups in order to secure power over the whole, much on the plan of Cæsar's alleged imperial policy of "divide and rule"—weakening the opposition to his rule by stirring differences among the native tribes of Gaul. The report of the situation at the University of X points out:

39. "President C. presented to the Board a policy which demanded *preference* for undergraduate as against graduate work. President C. presented to the Faculty a policy which sought the abolition of graduate work and even of the smaller and more advanced undergraduate courses. The gulf between the policy recommended to and announced by the Board of Trustees, and the policy which President C. was attempting to impose upon the Faculty, adequately explains this bitterness of the debate. . . . The Committee therefore finds that President C. presented two distinct issues, one to the Board of Trustees and one to the Faculty of the College of Liberal Arts, with the natural result that the Board of Trustees was discussing and finally decided upon a policy which was wholly different

[1] See "The Expanding Personality," p. 5, also, Hornell Hart, *Science of Social Relations*, p. 177.

from the policy which the President had presented to the Faculty, although it was essentially identical with the policy which the Faculty had been pursuing in the past. . . . The inevitable result of President C.'s presentation to the Board of Trustees and to the Faculty of the two distinct issues under one label was to embroil the Faculty and the Board of Trustees, both of which bodies had hitherto been on the best of terms, although not intimately and personally acquainted. Responsibility for this disaster must be placed on President C. alone. Furthermore, . . . President C. did nothing to abate the growing lack of confidence between two important bodies, but on the contrary aggravated the distrust which the Board was beginning to feel concerning the Faculty . . . by insisting that . . . 'the practices of the past did not meet the needs of the present' . . . President C., by so doing, misrepresented to the Board the quality and performance of the Faculties, and by these exaggerations he prepared the minds of the Board to support him when he proposed drastic changes in personnel and method." [1]

In the above case it appears that President C. consciously and purposely presented different plans to the board and to the faculty in order to weaken the latter's position. It often happens, however, that the same sort of situation arises unconsciously, that is, without design, through sheer

[1] Bulletin of the A. A. U. P., October, 1927. See also p. 17.

lack of awareness: the same plan may be presented to two persons with such varying shades of interpretation as to create a similar conflict. If, on the other hand, President C. had presented his plan at a joint meeting of board and faculty, this particular conflict could not have arisen. Or, the board, assuming its complete awareness of the essential problems involved, might have considered its dual responsibility to president and faculty. In this case, the initiative for joint deliberations would come through the board and not through the president. The board obviously did not so conceive its functions, since the one joint meeting which it did sponsor was conducted in such manner as to preclude a candid confronting of issues.[1]

Control from Without

In some instances, a community, harmonious within itself, may be plunged into destructive conflict because of the attitudes of larger groups outside the boundaries of the community, but exerting influence over some groups within:

40. The little village of Putnam had been growing larger and more prosperous. The chapel, which had been used in common by the two church groups, the Episcopalians and a miscellany of other denominations, was now found too small for the needs of the Episcopalians, and they made arrangements to build a new one for themselves. They had the hearty support of their dissenting co-workers, and the local Masonic lodge offered to officiate at the cornerstone laying. All went well until

[1] See p. 54.

the bishop of the diocese heard of the proposed ceremony and sent an emphatic order forbidding the Masons to have anything to do with it. It was a blow in the face for all the co-operating denominations, and the always latent feeling that Episcopalians are "stuck-up" people flared into manifestations of violent disagreement. Unheard-of difficulties arose, men previously helpful now blocked the way, and it was five years before the damage could be undone and the church erected.

In the same community, a new and socially minded Catholic priest saw the need of a social and recreational center which could be used by the whole community. Funds were collected from Catholics and Protestants alike, and a lot was bought and paid for, when some higher official in the Catholic Church saw fit to veto the proposition on the ground that there was no immediate need for it. Regretfully, the priest was forced to resell the lot and to put the funds in the bank, reserving it for a community house to be built at a future time. The contributors' feeling was one of bitter resentment, especially on the part of the Protestants, who felt they had been "the victims of a Jesuit trick" to get their money.

In both instances cited above a trend toward cooperative conduct on the part of religious denominations was interrupted by forces outside the community. We see here how the process of the local community is influenced by the

existence within its borders of associations or institutions which have more than a community-wide jurisdiction. It has often been claimed by friends of the community-church movement that the chief obstacles were resident, not in local communities, but rather in outside officialdom. Conflicts of this sort arise frequently between the various state governments in relation to the federal or central government, and the Constitution of the United States attempted to strike a balance between centralised and decentralised distributions of power. Religious denominations, particularly the older ones, are not for the most part organized according to the federal pattern, and it is on this account that they are capable of precipitating so much conflict in local communities. Cases of this type may also be discussed from the point of view of relative values; in the above instances both the Catholic and the Episcopal authorities obviously placed a higher valuation upon their denominational integrity than they did upon the integrity of the local community.[1] [For an alternative method of seeking local interdenominational cooperation, see "Tackling Official Problems Unofficially," p. 115.]

This chapter has been devoted to such instances of conflict in community life as have been complicated by the failure to distinguish clearly between the essential problem requiring solution, and the secondary oppositions that have overlaid it. From an analysis of these cases, it would appear that the next step in unwinding the reel of misunderstanding must be the recognition of the extraneous forces

[1] See R. M. MacIver, *The Elements of Social Science,* on the integration of localities and regions, pp. 95-103.

and issues and their revaluation in the light of this wider perspective. No evaluation of an interest can be made unless that interest is clearly formulated and stated. Conversely, undefined interests do not lend themselves to integration and any interest pursued in a manner which resists or impedes integration is to that extent invalid.

The problem of obtaining the complete data regarding a situation is one which must vary according to the nature of the issue and the resources of the community. But the gathering of such data must be undertaken jointly, lest it become a means of "showing up" the opposition rather than a search for the way out of a difficulty that both groups are facing. "Open covenants openly arrived at" is a necessary condition of local as of world betterment.

PART II

Steps Toward Adjustment

To follow the pace of living requires enormous vigilance and sympathy.

Walter Lippmann.

CHAPTER III

Minimizing the Conflict Mind-set

THERE are, of course, no infallible rules for dealing with conflicts, no "foolproof" tools upon which we can rely with easy certainty. What we must seek to create is a technique which will be sensitive to change, an alertness to include at every point the needs and desires of the various groups, a readiness always to achieve a genuine solution, emotional as well as intellectual.

The cases that follow are presented because they indicate ways, capable of more or less general application, of avoiding the destructive emotions of antagonism and resentment. They do not indicate the solution of the given conflict, but point the way to the anticipation or removal of those attitudes of mind which hinder the search for solution:

Allowing a Plan to Perish of Its Own Weight

41. In Creston, the liberal groups were stirred to protest against the introduction of a plan of religious education into the schools. Many felt that denominational bitterness and factionalism would thereby be increased; and the schools resented the demands upon the school time required for other subjects in the curriculum. But their efforts to stop

the move were unsuccessful, and the plan was launched.

Then they abandoned their opposition to the measure, for it soon became apparent to them that the plan was doomed to fail because of its own impracticability: Each church was to instruct the pupils of its own congregation. This meant that the pupils must travel from the various school buildings to their respective churches, often a great distance, entailing in many cases considerable hardship and a consumption of time far beyond that allowed for in the school curriculum. When it was proposed to centralize the place of instruction, it became evident that the different denominations would have to hold classes on different days, so that all Methodists would be absent on one day, all Baptists on another, all Catholics on another, etc. As this division cut across the school grade divisions, it upset the school programs and could not be arranged. In the end the plan was found too expensive for the churches to maintain, and interest in the instruction fell off, threatening even the attendance at Sunday schools, so that the classes were given up without prolonged battle or bitterness, and community factionalism was not thereby aggravated.

Fabius assumed that he could outmaneuver Hannibal, not by fighting, but rather by delaying to fight. But the pure Fabian method lacks social validity; the opposition to a

particular community program cannot achieve results by merely postponing or refraining from critical expression in the hope that the program's supporters will fail or recognise their error. The fact that the plan to teach religion in the public schools failed because of difficulties of administration did not resolve the fundamental conflict between those who believed in such education, if it could be made to work, and those who disbelieved in it on principle. But, by avoiding direct conflict and preventing an emotional rift in the community, this tactic left this particular difference of viewpoint in a more rational setting. That is, the failure of the experiment left the way open for more fundamental resolution of the conflict. If, at the point of failure, the liberal opponents had gloated over their Fabian victory, the failure might have served only to create a repression which in the end would have prevented the liberals from influencing the total community situation with respect to religion and education. For discussion purposes, emphasis may be placed upon this method as one which, although not creative, is at least not destructive.

Recognizing Change as Inevitable

On the other hand, time and social developments may so alter our old settings that we must accept the situation and accede to changes we had hitherto opposed. One Long Island community recognized this necessity and, taking time by the forelock, avoided prolonged conflict:

42. The charm of Penton had always lain in the fact that it was far enough from the city to have a history and tradition of its own. But the village was now on the firing line. A new fast express

brought the city within an hour's distance and made Penton a commuting suburb of New York. It was becoming more and more difficult to maintain the old community life and hospitality of the past. The aristocracy had to struggle to maintain its leadership and its older Long Island soul. Up to that time the leadership of the village, which rested upon the original farming families who bought the first land, had never been seriously questioned. But now the irreverent commuters contested that leadership. They argued that thirty years' serving was long enough for one president of the Board of Education, and they led a movement for a new school building to replace the one erected in 1888. They were defeated. There was no cleavage on the issue between the settled classes of the village. But they realized the danger in the situation and, in their turn, submitted a plan for a school building which passed the following year.[1]

The opposition of the older residents to the new school was, of course, irrational; they appeared to be opposing a measure merely because they disliked its supporters, and this is not, obviously, a valid basis for opposition. On the other hand, their opposition served to maintain a portion of their old leadership, and the loss of this would undoubtedly have removed certain distinctive values from the community. The conflict taught the older residents, however, that they were confronted with the actuality of change and they could not henceforth fail to give recognition to the claims of the newer

[1] Abridged from *Our International House,* by Rachel Brooks.

residents. To have come to this recognition and to have acted upon it in a gracious manner was in itself a mark of reasonableness and prepared the way for future cooperations. In short, the behavior of this group illustrates, not merely negative acceptance of inevitable change, but action in terms of that change.

"Saving Face"

The leaders of Penton found they must submit to changing conditions, but they were concerned to "save face" in so doing, so that their leadership might not be impaired. The Chinese reverence for "face"—i.e., appearance, prestige—is based on a vital human need. As indicated in Part I, much of the heat engendered in conflict is due to the fear of one group or another that it is losing "face," and frequently discord may be avoided by the removal of this fear:

43. The town of Marvin had been split for months over the necessity of changing the zoning and building regulations as a result of the influx of large numbers from the near-by city. The old home-owners fought all change in an effort to hold fast to the charm and leisureliness of the olden days. Merchants and real estate operators sought to build apartments in order to attract new residents, to stimulate trade, and to increase business. The old zoning commission had intensified the conflict; the backs of the Board of Aldermen were up. They resented the peremptory demands of the commission and the notices to the press which exposed them to

public criticism before time had been given them to examine the recommendations. Bitterness grew until at length the commission was dissolved by the board. Within three weeks another commission was appointed. It was composed of some of the members of the earlier commission; but the chairman, who had antagonized the board, was replaced by a more temperate, detached spirit. His plan of procedure effected a change at once: No releases were given to the press until after they had been submitted to the board. The old attitude of superiority was abandoned. In its place came an assumption of unity of aim and comradeship which was carried out to its least implication. The members of the commission became "the boys" to the aldermen; they discarded their polished phrases for the homely talk of the City Hall, and were met with friendliness and confidence which smoothed the way for the suggested changes. Although the commission derived from the county legal power to enforce these changes, this power was never mentioned, much less resorted to. They moved slowly, taking the board along with them in their thinking, discussing all situations with them. When the old conflict attitudes between the board and themselves had died down, they were able to proceed to the essential issues between the home owners and the merchants. Their budget was tripled by the board, making it possible for them to employ experts to draw up a

master plan. This plan provided for the development of the town at logical points, such as railroad centers, thoroughfares, etc. Important streets were to be widened, and all future buildings would be made to conform to a general plan. Apartment houses were not decried in themselves, but were seen as economic necessities for some types of small family, and when properly placed, fitted into the plan. In this way, the charm of the residential section was safeguarded, the false economy of creating a business section many times too large for this type of community was recognized, at the same time that far-sighted growth was encouraged.

The success of the commission lay in their ability to relieve the aldermen of any feeling of being forced into action, of the humiliation of being "vanquished" by "opponents." Three phases of their program seem worthy of special note:

1. Handling of personalities;
2. Taking the other group along in the deliberations;
3. Securing expert guidance.

Relating Difficult Personalities to the Group Purpose

At Marvin, much of the tension was relieved when the difficult personality of the first chairman was removed. Where one member of the group has aroused the antagonism of the other group toward him or her as a person, and that antagonism threatens the relationship of the two groups, it is often necessary to withdraw that individual in order to safeguard the functioning of

the whole. But it is not always possible to dispose of a difficult personality so summarily, particularly if that individual is an integral part of one or the other group. It then becomes necessary so to relate that individual to the purpose of the group that the latter becomes part of his "expanding personality" rather than of his "anti-personality":

44. As the activities of the Brocton Neighborhood Association and Day Nursery increased, new needs were recognized. The new problems that were arising were being handled in uncoordinated fashion by volunteers who were unwilling to renounce their autonomy or authority. The trained executive who came in at this time to coordinate the work and raise it to a professional level, kept the good will and interest of the women by providing another activity for them each time she took away some task for which they were ill-equipped.

As the work developed, trained recreational leaders were employed. Almost at once there came the rumor that the Italian priest was planning to build a parish house as a recreation center which would do all work with Italians in the village, under the supervision of Sisters. Before the building was completed, he forbade his congregation to use the Neighborhood House and read from the pulpit lists of parishioners who had disobeyed. As most of the children attending the Neighborhood House were Italians, the Father's attitude constituted a boycott of the house. The Irish priest maintained

friendly relations and attempted to dissuade the Italian priest, but without success. At length the house hit upon a plan: it would not confine its service to the house but would extend it outside. It would not compete with the work of the parishes, but would assist by proffering the services of its personnel. Within a short time the Italian priest announced his accord with the plans of the Neighborhood House. The recreation leader enlisted his further cooperation by consulting him as to club activities during Holy Week. Indicative of the changed feeling was an invitation to the recreation leaders to attend the opening of the Parish House.

A later study of the entire situation pointed to the need for the coordination of the public and private agencies of the county. Some of the changes in work proposed by the study committee seemed very radical to those women on the board who remembered the good old days, and almost antagonized one of the most influential women. The executive secretary seized upon a request from the local newspaper for an article on the history of the association to call on this woman to assist in the preparation of the article. As a result of the assistance she rendered, which entailed careful study of the plans, her interest was regained, and she continued to be an active member of the board.[1]

[1] Abridged from W. W. Pettit *Community Organization.* See also p. 23.

The method of resolving differences in these two instances has been called "functional relating." The assumption is that many theoretical or philosophical differences, which seem very important when considered in the abstract, lose their arbitrary qualities if the persons involved can be related to each other in functional tasks. Philosophic or theoretical integration follows, i.e., upon functional relating. Also, the experiment in this direction on the part of the Neighborhood House brought about a redirection and expansion of its program; by taking the Italian priest in, the Neighborhood House found that it in turn needed to turn its gaze outward and thereby modify its activities. "One activity sets in motion many others," writes Miss Follett,[1] and likewise, one purpose evolves larger purposes.

There exists a well-known aphorism to the effect that the way to overcome dissenters is to put them to work. This does not appear to be precisely the method followed above: in these cases there were plain evidences that the Neighborhood House under its trained leadership considered itself to be an evolving unit within a larger evolving unit; the steps taken to head off conflict were experimental adjustments to changing circumstances; the personalities potentially dangerous to the total enterprise were related to the ongoing tasks of the Neighborhood House, whereas in many instances the leadership seeks only to find ways of eliminating the difficult personalities. Purposes which at one stage appeared to be disharmonious were brought together into larger purposes, thereby providing us with a clue for dealing with analogous situations. If at an early stage in incipient conflict all interested groups can bring themselves to ask: "What in reality is our fundamental purpose in this enterprise?" the way of resolution will frequently present itself in the very first activities begun in achieving such purposes.

[1] *Creative Experience,* p. 32.

Taking the Other Group Along in the Deliberations

The Marvin Zoning Commission was careful to insure at every point the joint facing of all problems that arose. This procedure would seem to be essential to intelligent agreement on the plan finally adopted.

45. In a middle-western community, the local branch of a national recreational organization had been reaching its young people through the schools. As its work developed, it became advisable to extend its basis to the community at large. This effort met with determined opposition on the part of the school authorities, who had come to look upon the work with great pride and possessiveness, considering it a function of their own. To meet this lack of understanding of the growing needs of the organization, several of the most vital members of the school board were asked to sit in with the board of the organization. As the problems facing the organization were discussed, the need for its extension beyond the limits of the schools became apparent to the school members, who were thereby enabled to see the organization in the light of its larger functions and who offered the aid of the schools in promoting the wider program.

Institutions relinquish functions slowly and often painfully. This is especially true of public institutions which

have, as in the above case, won general approval through a function which has been performed over a period but which is at some time or other likely to grow beyond the institution's capacities. The move to take this recreational function away from the school system struck at the school's prestige, its status in the community. Arbitrary action on the part of the recreation officials would, without doubt, have created an intense and bitter conflict. The simple, though frequently neglected, step of including the dissenting group in early deliberations appeared to be all that was necessary in this case to forestall conflict and sustain a mood of cooperation between the school board and the recreation authorities.

Calling on Expert Opinion

It will be recalled that the Marvin Zoning Commission did not call on the aid of experts until the conflict mind-set had been replaced by one of agreement. Then it was the board itself which voted the funds for the employment of these experts. When, as in Landor, experts are called in by both sides, each is inclined to support the contention of the group which engaged him, and the solution of the controversy is farther off than ever. The only valid use of the expert is in the cooperative gathering of facts, and in the consideration of these facts in the light of the interests and needs of all groups involved. He should be used, not to bolster up partisanship nor to force consent, but as an educative factor, contributing his special skill to the community's comprehension of its own problems.[1] An account of such use of the expert in Mapleton is given in the following section:

[1] See Mary Follett, *Creative Experience,* Chap. I.

Long-time Planning

Above all, it would seem wise to allow ample time for developments to take place, so that at every point the obstacles to joint action may be removed and the full participation of all concerned may be secured. The necessity for such unhurried proceeding was illustrated in the experience of Mapleton, whose leaders found themselves confronted by most of the difficult situations previously examined:

46. A little less than a year before, considerable feeling had been aroused over the question of discontinuing the engagement of married women teachers. Finally, the Board of Education and the superintendent, Mr. Rogers, adopted the rule against engaging more married women teachers, much to the dissatisfaction of a number of parents who felt that the schools were thereby immediately losing good teachers and would, in the future, suffer on that account. Two, at least, of the dissatisfied mothers are said to have declared that they would take revenge upon Mr. Rogers because he had strongly favored this policy.

The following year, a public meeting was called at the high school auditorium to consider the formation of a new Parent-Teacher Association. Among the promoters were some of the women most dissatisfied over the action described above. Mr. Rogers, whether rightly or wrongly, felt certain that the chairman, Mrs. Donaldson, was one of that

number. The meeting was attended by a comparatively large number of mothers and fathers and teachers. A long address was made by Mr. Rogers, who touched upon a good many educational topics, such as the Dalton Plan, the Gary Plan, etc., the value of which he felt had been much overrated. Then he dwelt upon the danger of a Parent-Teacher Association attempting to dictate the school policy and to interfere with the proper function of the Board of Education and the superintendent. There was music on the program also. The result was that the meeting ended just before 11 p. m. without having given any opportunity for general discussion. Consequently it was resolved to have another public meeting a month later for frank discussion of the question.

The chairman, Mrs. Donaldson, and one or two others of the prime movers in the meeting decided that an informal conference should first be called to consider future plans. Accordingly, she invited to her home a number of men and women, several of whom had not been present at the first meeting and were not sure that a Parent-Teacher Association should be formed. As a result of this conference, a committee was formed to prepare for the next public meeting. They decided it was important to secure as chairman an old resident whom everyone respected, Dr. Herrick, a scientific naturalist. They also decided that a committee of citizens

should sign the call for the meeting and publish it in the weekly *Journal* and have it mentioned in the church pulpits or bulletins. The committee members, especially the ladies, busied themselves urging attendance over the telephone.

Dr. Herrick at first declined to let his name be used on the calling committee, but after discussing his reasons for hesitating with one of the committee, he consented, and a few days later, after another conference, he consented to serve as chairman. Apparently the reason for his first refusal was that, like so many others, he feared that it might be a partisan move, and that it could not secure the cooperation of the principal, Mr. Rogers. When he was assured that the Committee on Preparations was determined that it should be thoroughly cooperative with the educational authorities, his doubts were dispelled.

The meeting was set for the following month. Two weeks before, the Committee on Preparations met, and, after discussing the problems involved, met by appointment to talk with Mr. Rogers and to overcome his doubts and reluctance. He was cordial, but it took fully half an hour to remove his fears and suspicions. Then, however, he agreed to attend the meeting and to arrange to have it held in the high-school building and also to encourage the teachers to attend.

The night of the meeting was a stormy one, and

the roads were almost impassable on account of the thaw. About sixty people attended. After a wide expression of opinion, in which perhaps twenty people participated, the meeting resolved unanimously to look with favor upon the organization of a society, but, on account of the small attendance and of the superintendent's cautious, half-hearted endorsement, to go no further at the time than to appoint a committee to sound public sentiment more widely and to frame a constitution and by-laws. Another meeting to consider the report of this committee was set for the following month.

The Committee on Sounding Public Sentiment and Organization was fortunate in securing, as chairman, an old resident, Dr. Hardy, a scientific writer and the father of two children in the high school. The committee also included, among others, the president of the Board of Education and the superintendent, Mr. Rogers. The latter soon showed that he needed to be reconvinced of the impartial and cooperative spirit of the proposal. It required more than an hour's frank discussion to convince him and the president that it was genuinely impartial and cooperative. The members of the committee protested and persuaded and finally pointed out that the formation of such an organization was the most effective means to forestall steps by a considerable number of critics of the school system who might, in time, take radical

measures and imperil Mr. Rogers' continuance in office. In other words, it was pointedly shown that a constructive, cooperative plan such as was contemplated was not only calculated to help the parents and the school but to forestall any rash and vindictive moves by malcontents. At this meeting the committee also approved a draft of the proposed constitution and by-laws.

At a meeting of the Program Committee to which an Italian, Mr. Ricci, had been appointed, it was decided to make a special effort to secure the interest of the Italian group from the outset. One Italian and his wife had been present at the conference called at Mrs. Donaldson's home; but, because of their language handicap and a lower educational level, all similar enterprises in the past had largely left the Italians out of the count. Mr. Ricci, himself, is a prosperous contractor and speaks English fairly well. He was much touched by the emphasis placed on the Italian participation, also by the fact that Dr. Hardy had taken pains to address the local Italian Society regarding the proposed organization. Dr. Hardy reported also that he had spoken on the same subject before the Rotary Club, University Club, and the East and West Side Citizens' Association, everywhere finding hearty approval for the proposal.

The program committee decided to issue a call for the meeting in the *Journal* and to arrange to

have the proposed constitution and by-laws in English and Italian or, if that were impracticable, to have them multigraphed and distributed in advance or at the meeting itself.

The meeting was attended by about 145, of whom 20 were teachers. The program went off as planned. The superintendent and president of the board heartily endorsed the Association. The constitution was adopted, the name being Mapleton Home School Association. Several excellent Catholics were elected on the Executive and Program Committees, the large majority, however, being Protestants. The president of the Italian Society is on the Executive Committee. Every one who spoke endorsed the organization. The only address of the evening was given by one of the teachers who spoke on the value of such an association as she had seen it in another place and assured the parents of the eagerness of the teachers for understanding and cooperation. Dr. Hardy was appropriately elected president. It was agreed that at the next meeting the chief business should be a talk by the principal with special reference to the requirements for college entrance.

After a year and a half it is apparent that the efforts described above have won the confidence of the school system. The association has held meetings on health, physical training, etc., in which the teachers and principal join, so that the old mistrust

and antagonism have died down. The malcontents in the ranks of the parents have recognized the wisdom of this course. There is some dissatisfaction with the principal, whom many have wished to oust, because of his lack of progressiveness. (The schools are very old-fashioned; they have made no special arrangements for retarded children, etc.) The association is working for more progressive schools but in a less direct manner than that of ousting the principal.

Through the efforts of the association, private funds were pledged for a survey of the school system by an expert from Teachers College. The board put the matter up for public discussion and vote. The survey was favored, and it has now been decided to finance it through public funds. The association is not urging more than the survey, feeling that improvements will follow upon the recommendations of the experts.

Let us see how the Mapleton leaders met the problem created by the antagonism of a group of parents and the principal's suspicion and fear of this antagonism:

1. Including all viewpoints.
2. Securing leadership non-partisan and generally agreeable.
3. Pledging cooperation, not antagonism.
4. Removing principal's fears and suspicions.
5. Accepting necessity for action, replacing rash move with constructive effort.

6. Not forcing issue, sounding out sentiment, widening interest in plan.
7. Making plans generally available for discussion.
8. Allowing fears and mistrust to die down.
9. Going slowly, taking community along in gradual perception of need for change.
10. Securing expert opinion on the direction of change.

The cases cited in this chapter, while not examples of complete solutions of conflict, do indicate a variety of ways in which foresight, forbearance, and detachment made possible a meeting of groups whose interests were potentially at variance. Emotions and reason were here brought into harmony, and the basis laid for joint activities which might ultimately lead to community integration.

CHAPTER IV

Integrating Community Interests

TO ANTICIPATE conflict or to dispel destructive emotions is but part of the task that faces the community leader, and the lesser part. The greater task lies in harnessing the energy behind the threatened conflict and turning it to constructive uses.

Neither the way of victory nor the way of compromise will accomplish this purpose. The victory of one or another side leaves the conflict antagonisms still in the ascendant; compromise leads to the repression of these antagonisms only to bring them forth in greater intensity at a later date. In neither are the valid interests of both sides accommodated in the final solution. Our aim must, therefore, be something more than this. It must be the devising of a way in which the needs of all groups are adjusted, the discovery of a solution which will add to, rather than detract from, existing satisfactions. To further growth, to encourage the continuing realization of the possibilities inherent in the life of the community, must be the aim of our statesmanship.

The effort of the communities in the accounts which follow was to evolve a way of enlisting the interest and activity of all concerned. No formula was applied, but in each instance the situation was seen, not as an "either-or" dilemma, but as a con-

tinual shifting and evolving of factors within which all conflicting purposes could find satisfying adjustments. The specific problem was seldom confronted as a whole. People's wishes and the underlying circumstances were dealt with analytically, and the solution was found in the essential demands of the situation itself:

Analyzing the Problem

47. A creamery operated by a private concern was purchased by a newly organized cooperative marketing association. A new manager was employed. One of the early problems which arose under cooperative control had to do with the approach to the landing platform. The creamery was situated half-way between the top and the bottom of a steep hill; the roadway leading to the landing platform where the milk cans were delivered was narrow and did not permit two wagons or trucks to pass. In consequence, it often happened that trucks coming from the top of the hill were obliged to stop in awkward positions when another truck was already occupying the space near the platform. The new manager, with his eye toward efficiency, posted a notice saying that after a certain date all trucks were to approach the platform from the top of the hill. Thereupon the drivers coming from the opposite direction complained; they insisted that to drive past the creamery, turn across the line of traffic, and then form in line was an irrational pro-

cedure. Thinking to appease this group, the manager reversed his notice and insisted that all trucks should approach from the bottom of the hill. Thereupon the drivers from the opposite direction complained and insisted with equal force that to drive down the hill and cross the line of traffic was an absurd procedure. Members of the cooperative association then began to take sides; those whose milk came from one side of the hill took sides with their drivers and vice versa. The conflict which ensued threatened to disrupt the society. It was proposed (a) that an expert be called in to make the decision, or (b) that officials "higher up" should be asked to arbitrate. Neither side would accept an arbitrary decision of this sort. Finally, an interested person suggested that selected members from each group be asked to meet to discuss the situation, not in terms of "for-or-against" alternatives but rather from the point of view of some solution not yet thought of. This discussion revealed that the whole method of unloading at the platform was inefficient; that some method should be devised which would make it unnecessary to have trucks waiting at either end. The final solution decided upon involved a widening of the driveway and the reconstruction of the platform so as to allow two trucks to unload at the same time. This solution, though it involved some expense, allowed both sets of drivers to approach from the most

convenient point, and also increased efficiency by decreasing the time needed for unloading.

Here a solution was found which reached the essentials of the problem rather than coping only with the apparent disagreement. What each side really wanted was not priority rights in unloading but the opportunity to unload without delay. The increased efficiency of the loading platform did not provide a substitute for their wish, it fulfilled it. And, as indicated, an additional value emerged in the solution, which not only satisfied the conflicting parties but also improved one of the processes of the creamery.

Recognizing Identity of Interest

In many instances the problems are less specific, but none the less vital to the community's welfare. The traditional distrust of the villager by the farmer was here dissipated:

48. "In a Georgia village the business men decided that no industry they could import held as much promise for their prosperity as agriculture, but that their chances of prosperity were small unless the farmer could be persuaded to diversify his products. Many interviews were therefore held with the farmers, and finally a board of trade was organized on whose directorate of thirteen were nine farmers and four villagers. 'If agriculture is our biggest industry, its representatives should control,' said a village business man in explaining why the control of a village board of trade was handed over to the farmers. This move convinced all the countrymen

of the sincerity of the village and won a hearty response to the board's efforts.

"In a relatively short time the farmers listened to the advice of the board of trade, reënforced by a vigorous campaign, and in place of much of their cotton began to grow tobacco, tomatoes, and some other truck, and to raise poultry. The next step of the board of trade was to secure a tomato-packing and storage plant, with a cannery soon to follow. The board also made possible the cooperative buying of seed and fertilizer and secured an agricultural course in the high school. The social life of the community was fostered by picnics and other get-togethers, with the ultimate result that farmer and villager came to think in terms of the total community." [1]

The interdependence of economic interests was here recognized from the first. The problem of relating the groups functionally was then a relatively simple one. Out of this relating came new joint activities that enriched not only the financial but also the social and cultural aspects of the community life as well.

Utilizing Existing Common Interests

In another community the problem of integrating farmer and townsman was perforce met in a less direct manner:

[1] *American Agricultural Villages* by Brunner, Hughes and Patten, p. 109.

49. "The functions of the schools in promoting healthy relationships between villager and countryman is the more interesting since they also have caused some of the worst conflicts. In one village in the Middle West, the school was used to stop a conflict that had long continued. The principal of the school cultivated the farmers and asked for advice, especially regarding the vocational and agricultural work of the school. He saw to it that country boys and girls received their proportionate place in the student activities. He planned the school's social program so that it would appeal to all groups. He encouraged athletics, and boys and girls from each part of the community played on teams or cheered their schoolmates toward victory. The principal became immensely popular with his students and the attendance record in this school was equal to the best. Distinctions between village and country students disappeared from the school early in his régime. Parents from each half of the community met at school functions and in the gatherings of the Parent-Teachers Association. The whole community caught the spirit of the school, and to-day the old conflict has been all but forgotten in a hearty cooperation that unites this community." [1]

In the Georgia town previously referred to, identity of interests was recognized at once. In this community it was

[1] *American Agricultural Villages* by Brunner, Hughes and Patten, p. 108.

necessary to build up such recognition. The problem was tackled not as a whole but by taking hold of a small corner. By utilizing a common meeting ground to promote contacts, antagonisms bred of strangeness and misconception were transformed into friendliness and recognition of oneness. Changes in the school situation brought about changes in the people which in their turn produced changes in the community situation.

Creating a Communal Interest

In another community, the approach was necessarily even less direct:

50. In a small New England town, the home of one of the leaders of the state, there were enduring political factions, and for several years, at every election, these factions supported different candidates for town, state, and federal offices. So intense were these contests that when a Republican caucus met to elect delegates to a congressional convention, there was only one man in town whom both factions would approve for chairman. The strife was largely political, but it entered other phases of community life where the feud of the clans appeared in matters of policy or method, and, with few exceptions, the factions attended different churches. The cleavage seemed to endure because of the natural antagonism of the two outstanding leaders, different in type, and both strong men financially, socially, and politically.

In spite of her position as the wife of one of these

leaders, one of the women of the town, who deplored all factional strife and deeply regretted the seemingly necessary contests of her fighting and victorious husband in his political advancement, saw the need of some reconciling motive, to achieve which she enlisted the interest of the women in organizing a community service club as a new avenue for their constructive efforts. Then, recognizing the need of some large aim in order to give the club dynamic, she evolved a library project. An effort was made to interest the Carnegie Corporation, but it thought the town too small to give the library the necessary support. In the face of this discouragement, the women determined not only to raise the necessary funds for the building but to keep it going. Participation of the men in this effort was gained, a community interest was created, and within ten years a library building had become an accomplished fact, fulfilling a large usefulness in the community. The club is still a fine working organization and the community feud has become a fading memory.

In fastening upon the library project, the woman leader here discovered an interest of sufficient vividness to cause minor differences to assume a secondary place. The resultant activity in a common cause brought about a revaluation of previous interests in the light of which factionalism lost its potency and integration of activity was followed by integration of ideas. The fact that the foundation refused to aid in financing the library forced the community to fall back upon its own resources; this was undoubtedly a decided

advantage at this particular juncture of the project, since the forces generated in financing the library furnished a new sense of strength and cohesion for the community as a whole. Obviously, not every community includes such wise leadership as was manifested by the woman in this case, but such leaders undoubtedly exist in dormant states in every community, and a more alert consciousness of the values in conflict might serve to bring them into usefulness.

Tackling Official Problems Unofficially

51. In one of the suburbs of New York, a Community Council of Religion has been functioning for some three years. The original aim of the organization was to enlist the religious sentiment of the community in meeting various community responsibilities then being ignored. While there was no active conflict among the ten churches of this community prior to the organization of the council, there was no cooperation. Again and again, efforts for a united religious movement to meet particular situations had been aborted. The Ministerial Association consisted of five Protestant ministers, who spoke for the community as a whole on religious questions. There was no possibility of inducing Protestants and Roman Catholics to join forces officially. Quite as futile had been efforts to link in official social endeavor the Methodist-Baptist-Presbyterian-Episcopal group and the Unitarian-Universalist group. The three colored ministers were never included.

Yet civic-minded laymen in all these bodies could see no conclusive reason why practical co-operation independent of denominational machinery could not be instituted. A simple organization was developed. An informal committee of four invited two laymen from each recognizable religious group in the community to join. Pastors of the churches informally approve of the members drawn from their congregations, but no members are officially elected by the churches. When any member loses interest, or for any reason habitually absents himself from the meetings, or withdraws from the council's activities, his place is filled by some one else drawn from the same church group. The members are all laymen. The council has no official status or power other than the desire of its members to advance the religious well-being of the community.

During the period of its organization, the council has either sponsored or stimulated a number of community projects: Union services have been held during the summer and on various holidays, particularly Thanksgiving, at which the attendance has been indicative of the general interest. Only the Catholic Church held separate services at these times. About a year ago, the council undertook a study of the Sunday Schools in the community, as a result of which there was instituted a course of training for Sunday School teachers. The Catholic members co-operated throughout in this study, although, of

course, they do not train their teachers with the others. Somewhat as an outgrowth of this study came the Daily Vacation Bible School, conducted during the summer.

A large part of the council's activities are at present devoted to meeting the needs of the colored group. Last year, a few of this group asked for evening classes. The Board of Education provides only "English for Foreigners" classes, which do not meet their needs. The council, therefore, raised money and provided a teacher for this purpose. The response was excellent. About thirty completed the course, mostly domestic servants to whom the regular attendance required involved no mean sacrifice. This year they have succeeded in getting the Board of Education to provide the class. A desire has also been expressed for a community house for the colored population, and both groups are working together, through the council, to procure this. Very recently a study of the housing problems in the colored section has been begun, and a block of model tenements has been pledged by one builder.

The ministers are in more active accord with these latter social efforts of the council than they are with the religious efforts. At first they appeared a little afraid that the council would interfere, but they seem to have lost that fear. At the recent annual dinner at which they were the guests of the

council, their attitude seemed to be, "keep right on prodding us, it is good for us, but don't expect us to follow you all the way." The council recognizes that breaking down divisions between creeds is slow work, and it is not aiming to do anything impossible or presumptuous. But it feels that its meetings are of incalculable value in that "the Roman Catholic layman and the Unitarian sit side by side, and, in their common interest in practical measures for the common good, forget that their respective religious bodies cherish irreconcilable differences. Methodist and Baptist, Presbyterian and Episcopalian have to jog their memories to recall who belong where. White man and Negro hold common counsel, and reckon their interest one in a more adequate regard for the social welfare of the neglected group." [1]

Communities of the United States probably support more voluntary associations or groups than do the communities of any other country, and it has been assumed by some social and political theorists that the vitality of such groups constitutes the measure of a democracy. That is, a democracy is in a healthy state when its voluntary groups are functioning at a high rate of effectiveness, and vice versa, the state of health is poor when functions and decisions tend to concentrate about officials and centralised authorities. In the above case we have an illustration of this same relationship

[1] A general statement of the principles and methods controlling the Community Council of Religion may be found in Number Three of a series of booklets on *Community Religion,* published by the Community Church of New York. This number is by Joseph Ernest McAfee, entitled "Organizing the Community for Good Will."

between the professional leaders of voluntary groups and the membership of these groups or associations. The kind of harmony which this official or professional group desired was without doubt impossible of attainment; they began with an attempt at theoretical unity. The non-official, laymen's group began at the opposite end of the scale and proceeded by accomplishing plain and practical results. Achievements on this level, however, tended to create precisely the sort of harmony which was included in the earlier desire. Interesting discussion might resolve about the question: Why was it possible for a lay group to accomplish what seemed impossible to the professional group? It should also be noted that the functions of the lay group increased in number and scope, illustrating once more the principle that socialization is a functional process.

Replacing Nominal by Real Agreement

52. "In a small farming community of the northeast, there had been intense rivalry between the churches. The Presbyterians of the early days are said to have been of an unusually 'Blue' variety. They called the Methodists 'howling Methodists.' The school was near the Methodist church, and some of the parents would warn their children not to pass this church in going to school, lest they be contaminated by the Methodist ideas. Each of the churches was prouder to win members from one of the others than to get twice as many from the ranks outside the churches. The town's churches drew upon a population that could have attended any one church and separately were unable to maintain their work on

the scale required by the conditions of the community, or to pay their pastors salaries which would be adequate for their support, while community betterment was perforce neglected. Prior to the war, there was much agitation for a federated church, led by the newspaper editor, a Universalist, but repeated efforts to federate failed. Then war came, and the high cost of living, the shortage of ministers and pressure toward conservation made the union church an actuality. To keep up the four churches became a life and death struggle. A joint committee decided to draw up articles of agreement without a creed, putting off the discussions of doctrine till after they had worked together and perhaps had a minister. The articles were submitted to a joint meeting of the four churches at which there was considerable discussion which seemed to be favorable. After this, the four churches met separately to take up the question of adopting the temporary articles. The Presbyterians, Methodists, and Universalists voted to adopt the agreement with very little difference of opinion. The Baptist church voted against the articles, and the Baptist minister submitted an alternate set of articles which would bar out the Universalists as non-evangelical. The chairman of the joint committee, however, decided that since the other three churches had adopted the first set of articles, it was not within their authority to take any action in regard to the Baptist articles.

The Baptist members of the joint committee thereupon withdrew.

"Charter members were received into the union church from all three churches, many of them at the first communion. Not all from any church have even at this writing joined the community church, but in the Presbyterian and Universalist groups those staying outside are very few. A large number of Methodists have not joined, but many of these worship and work with the Baptist church.

"The Community Church at present is a strong, harmonious, growing organization with a vigorous Sunday School, Women's Association, and Young People's Society. The Presbyterian church has been made over into a community building, the Methodist church has been improved and is used for worship, and the Universalist church has been sold to the Grange. The Presbyterian manse, much improved, is in use, the Methodist parsonage having been sold and the proceeds used for improvements. There is no endowment.

"The spirit within the Community Church is unusually harmonious. There have never been any disputes, and the members remark on the pleasure they receive from friendships with people from the other denominations. This church is increasing the community spirit in this town and to some extent in the surrounding rural districts. The work of the Home Department is acting as leaven among the

farmers who had largely lost their contacts with churches. Only thirty-one members of the large community church live outside the corporation. But very many people outside contribute to the Community Church and appeal to it for baptisms, weddings, and funerals. The present minister is making many pastoral calls and there is a project for systematic visiting of the country families during the coming summer.

"The constitution calls for six on the board, nine trustees, and three deacons. At first it was felt necessary to divide these evenly among the denominations. Of late the men best adapted for the work without regard to denomination have been selected. People are coming to forget that they have been in different denominational groups.

"The Baptist church has been much strengthened by those who have come to it from among the more conservative of the former churches, especially from the Methodist church. It pays its pastor five hundred dollars more in salary than formerly, has made repairs on its building, and does stronger work in every respect.

"There seems to be room in this community for two churches, and the cleavage between the more conservative and the more progressive is a real one. The Community Church is more harmonious and effective because elements that might have been divisive are united in a church of their own.

"The Baptist minister said that the Baptist church is ready to cooperate with the community church except where matters of principle prevent. Union meetings are held monthly. When the Community Church minister has his vacation, the Baptist Church invites the congregation to its services, and the invitation has been generally accepted." [1]

Community integration is frequently prevented or impeded by the attempt to reach for total rather than partial unity. In such cases it often happens that agreement on the larger project is reached by the intellectual means but remains nevertheless superficial and unreal. That is, the larger agreement does not stimulate functional integration. In the above case, for example, it seems clear that total unity could have been secured only at the risk of glossing over real and fundamental differences. Restricted but realistic cooperation is better than enlarged but counterfeit unity. There seemed to be room in this community for two churches, and the cleavage between the more conservative and the more progressive was a real one. The Community Church was more harmonious and effective because elements that might have been divisive were united in a church of their own. It was necessary to disrupt existing groups in order to bring about new and more fruitful unions. The earlier groups had been divisive within themselves, conflicting with one another, and without vital relation to the community. The new groups were united by valid identities, self-sustaining, and hence free to function together without rivalry.[2]

[1] Abridged from a study by E. R. Hooker, Institute for Social and Religious Research.

[2] See *Are There Too Many Churches in Our Town,* Inquiry Publication.

Aiding the Minority Group to Self-realization

53. In the Connecticut River Valley are two towns, both of which have had a large Polish influx in recent years. In one town the "Yankees" refused utterly to recognize the Poles or admit them to a part in the community life. The town is now paralyzed by disunion. The other town encouraged the newcomers to take an integral part in the development of the community.

When the Poles first came, they attended the existing Catholic Church, composed chiefly of German and Irish, and conducting services in English. But the language difference made this arrangement unsatisfactory, and the Poles withdrew to form a church of their own. This was not condemned as a clannish move but was welcomed as a distinct step forward in group morale by the "Yankees," who lent their aid in building the new church. The Poles organized several cooperative and benefit societies, which held meetings and entertainments in the town-hall. This use of the town-hall, which had served as the nucleus of all previous community effort, served further to relate the Poles to the older settlers. They showed a disposition to identify themselves with the community in many ways. The Polish priest reduced the number of holidays and the attendant conviviality to conform to the older ways

of the community. A teacher was engaged to teach the illiterates to read and write Polish, and the officials granted the use of the school buildings. Later an evening school for teaching English was started by the town, and the town library was put to constant use. It is noteworthy that the Poles have not established a parochial school but have sent their children to the public schools. They are beginning to recognize the value of education and are seeking the assistance of the principal in keeping the boys in school. Their participation in local politics is small because of their unfamiliarity with English, but they have been quick to appreciate the appointment of one of their number as constable for their section of the town. One has also been elected to the Board of Trade. There is throughout the community an informal neighborliness. Both "Yankees" and Poles mingle at the schools and at public entertainments. The Polish boys and girls participate in athletics and are included on teams and clubs. Friendly visiting and assistance in time of trouble is given one group by the other, and the Poles are coming to be recognized, not as "foreigners," but as neighbors. The community has progressed rapidly and is now a thriving market center, its prosperity being laid largely to the amicable relations between natives and Poles.[1]

[1] For full details, see *America Via the Neighborhood,* by John V. Daniels, Chap. XIII.

American communities are presented with a peculiar set of problems, often leading to chronic conflict, through the influx of immigrants from foreign lands, immigrants who come with cultural habits which frequently run counter to the accepted mores and customs of the local community. These problems may have diminished since the adoption of the quota law for admission of immigrants but they still persist in many areas. In the above case, where there was no effort to stamp out the characteristics of the newcomers, nor to force upon them an acceptance of inferiority, we have an excellent illustration of a positive method for dealing with such situations. The distinctive traits of the immigrants were respected with the result that they quickly responded with good will; they soon identified themselves as neighbors with the older resident group. Integration within the Polish group led directly toward integration of the Polish group within the community. Obviously, adjustment in this case was not one-sided; it should be noted that the Poles modified some of their customs in the interest of harmony. Thus, both the resident and the immigrant groups adjusted to and with each other.

There are, obviously, many other methods for approaching the resolution of a conflict; the above suggestions are merely those which have emerged from the cases at hand. Those who use this outline will be helped most if it stimulates them to discover their own integrations. On the basis of the cases presented here, the criteria for creative integration would seem to be:

a. The interests at stake should be tested and validified;

b. Valid interests should be used, not negatived;

c. The solution should involve functional co-operation, not merely verbal agreement;

d. The solution should not involve victory or defeat for any one;

e. The resolution will be proportionately more fruitful if it includes a new factor, an invention which is the resultant of the interpenetration of those differences which are vital to the conflict.

These criteria represent the ideal for a solution of community conflict, but it is too much to expect that all of the above-mentioned conditions may be met at all times. Our community habits are not wholly in tune with this conception of difference, conflict, and integration; many of us still hold a philosophy of victory or defeat, my right and your wrong, and a great deal of behavior reconditioning is needed to bring the community process to peaceful and creative levels. As Dr. MacIver writes:

"The more a common interest is established, the more society is established, and every increase in society is an increase in economy."

This book has been prepared in the effort to aid such reconditioning and to bring about a more general appreciation of this larger social stake in community conflict.

APPENDICES

Three Methods of Study

A. For interested lay groups
   To discuss conflict situations

B. For students of social science
   To analyze conflict situations

C. For community leaders
   To deal with a current conflict situation

Suggestions for Discussion Leaders

THE written word is merely a tool, a supplementary device for learning. And reading is nothing more than a stimulus, an incentive from which learning takes its point of departure. The written word becomes the living word when its meaning has become assimilated and related to other meanings, when its import is seen in relation to actual experience; that is, reading is effective only when its meanings have been made the possession of the reader. Reading which is mere accumulation of facts or memorizing cannot be called learning. The learning process begins when one makes use of one's reading.

The foregoing cases, or illustrative situations, may be put

to use in two ways: (a) by persons actually or potentially involved in community conflicts, for the purpose of learning how to deal with such situations; (b) by students of the social sciences who are preparing themselves either for scholarship or for activity in the sphere of community action. Presumably, both the student and the layman will find it expedient to use this material as a part of group process; they will, that is, do their studying in company with others, and under the guidance of a discussion leader or a teacher. The material has been prepared with this form of use in mind. Each case is, consequently, recorded under a title or category which draws attention to the main element or factor in the situation. In addition, each case is factored in such manner as to give the reader a partial clue for analysis. Most readers (users) will, probably, need nothing more than this by way of suggestion or guidance.

The following suggestions are intended for the two types of use mentioned above, namely for community discussion groups (page 130), and for academic classes (page 138). The chief difference in method for these two groups is this: The lay community group will wish to use this material primarily for practical and more or less immediate purposes: they may be confronted with an actual community conflict; they may recognise the germs of such a conflict as impending; or, they may merely wish to test their own behavior in the light of conflict situations. The academic class, on the other hand, will aim to use this material as a part of their on-going attempt to understand social processes; they will wish to relate this material with other facts and principles derived from the social sciences; and they will utilize their discussions for the purpose of widening the range of knowledge. Experience is likely to count for more with the community group, whereas technical knowledge is likely to be at the center of the discussion with academic classes. A third suggested outline is appended for those groups facing an actual conflict situation within their own community (page 148).

A. Discussion Outline for Community Groups

Sequence of Facts and Problems Elicited from the Group or Stated by the Leader:

I. What are the main facts which describe the situation?

Each member of the group should have a clear understanding of the situation as a whole before discussion begins.

There are various devices for getting the situation before the group. The leader simply defines the situation himself and then determines whether or not the group agrees with his interpretation. Or, he may call upon three or four members to give their versions and then combine these into a whole. Or, he may ask all members of the group to participate in building up the picture of the whole situation. The important point to keep in mind at this point is to avoid premature discussion of the issues involved.

(Before proceeding to II below, see I, p. 131. Similarly, compare left and right hand pages throughout outlines A and B.)

II. Have members of the group experienced similar situations? Is this the sort of situation which might appear in our community?

The responses to question I represent a process of factoring out the main items which describe and define the situation as a whole. From this point onward, the discussion may proceed by any one of three steps:

1. *Members of the group may spend a brief period in testing this situation for its experience value.*

Case No. 5
from Part I

KINDS OF RESPONSES TO BE ANTICIPATED:

I.

1. Village authorities removed hitching-posts and watering-trough.

Basis of action: assumption that all farmers now drove automobiles.

2. Farmers resented this action, first by formal protests which were not taken seriously, and second by doing their trading in other towns.

Bases of action: assumption that villagers were unfriendly to farmers; retaliation.

3. Village authorities restored hitching-posts and watering-trough, but attitude of farmers remained unfriendly.

Basis of action: loss of trade.

II.

1. Evaluating experience:
   a. Experience data.
   b. Relevancy and pertinency of this case.

2. *Or, the discussion may proceed to recognize and note the assumptions underlying the various actions constituting the situation. At least one main assumption for each action is given:*

a. The village authorities assumed that the farmers universally drove cars instead of horses, and that therefore they would not need hitching-posts and watering-trough.

b. The farmers assumed that the villagers were unfriendly to them and that this arbitrary action was a manifestation of this feeling.

c. The villagers assumed that restoration of the hitching-posts and watering-trough would resolve the conflict.

3. *Or, the discussion may proceed to get at the chief problem involved:*

a. The specific problem arising from the removal of conveniences without consultation with the farmers.

b. The specific problem arising from the farmers' resentment and their subsequent trading in other communities.

c. The specific problem of authority: the villagers undoubtedly possessed legal authority to remove the hitching-posts and watering-trough, but the problem arises over the manner of exercising this authority.

d. The general problem of village-farmer attitudes and relationships.

III. Summarised statement of the main causes of conflict.

This summary may be made by the leader, or by members of the group. The important point is to secure agreement on the final statement of causal factors.

---

2. Evaluating assumptions:

a. This assumption was largely based upon fact and circumstance.

b. This assumption probably emerged from a traditional or customary attitude.

c. This assumption overlooked the main cause of conflict.

3. Formulating specific and general problems which combine to form the total situation:

a. The problem of arbitrary action.

b. The problem of resentment expressed in economic terms.

c. The problem of legal versus real authority.

d. The specific situation and its attendant problems as seen in the light of tradition and general village-farmer attitudes.

III.

1. The conflict situation in this case was precipitated by:

a. Arbitrary action of one group without consulting the other group affected.

b. Exercise of legal authority without recognition of social sanction.

c. Failure to regard the traditional attitudes of farmers.

IV. What were the underlying interests of the two groups concerned?

At this point the discussion may turn to a consideration of the less obvious interests or stakes of both villagers and farmers as revealed in this situation.

V. How may these interests be tested? Are they valid interests?

Thus far, members of the group have been intent upon analysing this situation. The chief purpose of this analysis has been to secure recognition and appreciation of those factors in a given community situation which cause conflict. The discussion group may wish to stop at this point, reserving the discussion of solutions and values to a later stage. On the other hand, it may seem profitable to proceed a step or two further in order to leave the group with a rounded conception of the total situation. If discussion of values and solutions is to be postponed, Step V. as indicated above should be replaced by a final summary.

VI. Why did the attempted solution fail to resolve this conflict?

The discussion at this point may profitably be allowed to enter into the realm of opinion, since there are not enough facts given to supply a trustworthy answer to this

IV.

1. The interest of the villagers was, apparently, two-fold:

a. To rid the village street of objects which detracted from its beauty and convenience, and

b. To retain the advantages of economic relations with the farmers.

2. The interest of the farmers appeared to be:

a. To retain self-respect and independence by refusing to submit to arbitrary authority.

V.

1. The interest to beautify and modernize the village streets is certainly valid. The question here turns on methods, not ends.

2. The interest to retain the farmers' trade is debatable. If the relation between farmers and villagers is purely economic, then it follows that any action by the village affecting farmers should first be considered in the light of its economic consequences. If the relations between farmers and villagers is more inclusive than is indicated by the term "economic," then actions affecting both groups need to be considered in terms of the larger interest.

3. The farmers' stake in self-respect and independence appears to be self-justifying.

VI.

1. The return of the hitching-posts and watering-trough did not reach the heart of the difficulty.

query, and discussion must therefore take on something of a hypothetical quality.

VII. Once the conflict was precipitated what steps might have been taken to assure a more creative resolution of differences?

It may also be profitable to discuss how the situation of conflict might have been averted, but for present purposes it will probably be more useful to remain within the context of the situation as described. An effective solution for a conflict of this sort should, obviously, include and not negate all the valid interests of each group. It should also be a solution in which both parties to the conflict come into the possession of new knowledge, that is, it should be educative. And, in the third place, the best solution will be one which reveals or invents a new method or process.

---

2. Replacing the conveniences after the threat of loss of trade probably accentuated the suspicion of the farmers. Moreover, an act of submission under threat does not constitute a validifying process for the interests involved. If the former conveniences were once objectionable, they remained so after restitution.

3. Nothing involved in the attempted solution took account of the underlying suspicion and lack of cordiality between farmers and villagers.

VII.

1. Conference between the two groups, for purposes of:
   a. Discovering precisely why the village authorities wished to remove the conveniences.
   b. Learning whether or not the farmers recognise these reasons as valid.
   c. Revealing how many farmers wished to continue using the hitching-posts and watering-trough.
   d. Discussing a way of providing these conveniences for this group without interfering with the village's desire to enhance the beauty of its streets.

2. Special inquiries for purposes of learning:
   a. Why the farmers found it easy to transfer their trade to other communities.
   b. How farmers who were economically related to the village might participate in other ways.
   c. Whether the traditional attitude of suspicion was general or specific; whether it was based upon former conflicts.

3. Setting up new social facilities:
   a. A permanent farmer-village committee for dealing with mutual problems.

B. Discussion Outline for Academic Classes

It appears from the responses of teachers who have aided in the construction of this outline that its materials may be found useful for classes:

1. *In community organization.*
2. *In general sociology.*
3. *In social psychology.*
4. *In administration of social agencies and institutions.*

Facts and Problems Stated by the Teacher or Presented by Members of the Group:

I. What are the main facts which describe and define this situation?

The task of sorting out the main facts and setting these forth in sequence may be given as a class-assignment. Or, one or two members of the class may be assigned to each case. The discussion would then begin with a clear-cut statement of the major situational facts. Or, the teacher may begin the discussion by stating the situation. A simple statement of the kinds of facts essential for this case is given in the next column.

Case No. 8
from Part I

Discussion method will, obviously, vary with respect to the main interest or goal of the course. Method and use will also vary with respect to the amount of time devoted to case studies of conflict in any given course. Variations of this sort cannot be envisaged in advance, and the following illustrations of discussion sequence are, therefore, formulated in generalized terms.

Kinds of Responses to be Anticipated:

I.

1. Large and established church in charge of a smaller mission church.
2. Membership of larger church belonging to upper middle class; members of mission church belong to working class.
3. Industrial community in New England.
4. Advent of new and progressive minister at mission church.
5. Proposal to amalgamate the two churches.
6. Assent given by larger congregation and by the bishop of the area.
7. Rejection of proposal by mission congregation, with one reason involving attitude given.

CORRELATED INQUIRIES:

a. Are mission churches common to all denominations?
b. How extensive is the movement toward church amalgamation?
c. What are the basic reasons for this movement?

II. What major problems are revealed by the situation?

Problems may be arranged in two columns, those representing major issues, and those representing minor issues. Since the order of importance is likely to derive from the nature of the class and its objectives, no distinction is made in the list of problems suggested in the next column.

CORRELATED INQUIRIES:

a. In what sorts of activities do members of different classes cooperate best?
b. What is the extent of class-consciousness in a given American community? How may this be measured?

III. Discrimination between problems.

In addition to distinguishing between major and minor problems, it may be profitable to distinguish also between specific and general problems, or between problems which belong to this particular case, and problems which would be likely to arise in similar cases. The latter discrimination is indicated in the next column.

REFERENCES:

a. Are There Too Many Churches in Our Town: Inquiry.
b. The Church in the Changing City: Douglass.

II.

1. Problem of uniting two congregations of varying social status.
2. Problem of paternalism as conceived by working-class, and by middle-class.
3. Problem of initiation by young and new minister.
4. Problem arising from order of consent: wealthier group consulted first.
5. Problem arising out of one kind of privilege-acceptance by the mission congregation and rejection of another kind.

REFERENCES:

a. What the Worker Thinks: W. Williams.
b. The Causes of Industrial Unrest: J. Fitch.

III.

1. Problems 3 and 4 belong inherently to this case.
2. Problems 1, 2 and 5 are general and might arise in similar situations in the same or other like communities.
3. Re-arrange various orders of discrimination, and select a sequence of problems which seems most fruitful.

CORRELATED INQUIRIES:

a. Discuss this case in terms of Case 3, page 17.

b. Discuss problems 3 and 4 in terms of their general importance and not in relation to this case.

IV. What were the apparent interests involved in this situation?

Distinction should be made between the interests which appeared to be at stake and those which seem to be underlying and perhaps more fundamental. In making this analysis, care should, of course, be exercised in not going too far beyond the facts provided.

CORRELATED INQUIRIES:

a. How do the ostensible interests of persons and groups get used as symbols for real interests?

b. Why are real interests concealed?

V. What were the underlying interests involved?

No trustworthy answer may be expected to this query since the needed facts are lacking. It will, however, be profitable to discuss real interests in hypothetical terms. In the suggested analysis in the next column no mention is made of the probable economic or industrial interests involved since no facts are given on this point.

REFERENCES:

a. Process of Group Thinking: Elliott, pages 90-92.
b. How We Think: Dewey.

IV.

1. The interests of the older and larger church appeared to be:
   a. To expand its program;
   b. To benefit the members of the mission church.

2. The interests of the mission congregation appeared to be:
   a. To maintain independence;
   b. To prevent further emphasis of superior-inferior status.

3. The interest of the new minister appeared to be:
   a. To form a more effective religious unit through the amalgamation of the two congregations.

REFERENCES:

a. See Social Discovery: Lindeman, for use of term "interest"; pages 210-214.
b. See The Community: Lindeman, pages 23-24 on "Institutionalism."

V.

1. The real interest of the older and larger congregation was revealed in their reply to the new minister's proposal; they, obviously, wished to continue the relationship of paternalism.
2. The real interest of the mission congregation was, apparently, a direct reflection of their ostensible interests; they

CORRELATED INQUIRIES:

a. Discuss paternalism in terms of the power which it brings.

b. Discuss the probable interest of the new minister in terms of "The Expanding Personality," page 4.

c. Why were the members of the mission congregation willing to continue acceptance of patronage from the wealthier group but not willing to enter into a joint project?

VI. Summary of the case in terms of the main causes of difference or conflict.

This may be done by the teacher, or by members of the class. The summary should be as simple and direct as possible in order to make sure that each member of the group conceives the main issue in the same way.

CORRELATED INQUIRIES:

a. Discuss this summarised statement of the case in terms of the introductory paragraphs on "The Conflict Mind-set," pages 3 and 4.

VII. Anticipation of the conflict.

Discussion of this case may be closed at this point since it has served to reveal one of the general causes of community

wished to remain as independent as possible under the circumstances.

3. There may have been a desire on the part of the new minister to identify himself with a larger project than the mission church represented.

REFERENCES:

a. See Creative Experience, by M. P. Follett, Chap. X.

VI.

1. This situation resolves into a conflict between a group which has exercised paternalism toward another group and this latter group's resentment toward this paternalism. The attitudes involved indicate that no genuinely cooperative project may be undertaken by the two groups until these attitudes are altered.

REFERENCES:

a. See Process of Group Thinking, by H. S. Elliott, pages 69-71.

VII.

conflict. For teaching purposes, however, it may be found useful to continue discussion into one other hypothetical area, namely:

What steps might have been taken by the new minister in order to prevent the sort of failure which he encountered?

CORRELATED INQUIRIES:

a. Cases revealing joint activity between groups as divergent as these two may be discussed, with a view to learning how cooperation began.

b. Other cases of church amalgamation may be discussed in order to discover principles and means.

c. The class may be asked to prepare a preliminary program for a project of this sort.

1. The minister might have conducted a survey to learn the sentiment of the two groups.
2. Or, he might have set up a series of joint meetings to discuss the proposal.
3. Or, he might have attempted to reveal to the paternalistic group the errors of this method.
4. Or, he might have attempted to convert the working-class group away from class-consciousness.
5. And, there is, of course, the possibility of discussing the case in terms of the minister's folly in attempting to amalgamate congregations of such diverse social status.

C. Suggestions for the Use of this Pamphlet by Groups Actually Involved in a Community Conflict

Persons who are party to an ongoing or suddenly precipitated conflict, or persons who are merely concerned over such a conflict may find profit in using this outline as a tool for discovering methods of procedure. As already indicated above, it often happens that a conflict has been reduced to "either-or," "black-white," "choose-your-side" patterns before an intellectual-social procedure can be brought into play. But, if at any stage in conflict such a procedure may be discovered and proposed, there is always the possibility of inventing a solution which will conserve community interests.

A. What Steps May be Taken in Order to Clarify the Current Community Conflict Situation?

I. The first question to ask as a gateway to discussion is:

What groups have interests at stake in the present conflict?

1. Who are the key-personalities in these conflicting groups?
2. What is their relation to one another?
3. What is the relation of these key-persons to their respective groups?
   a. Are they leaders?
   b. Employed representatives?
   c. Experts or advisers?

II. Once the conflicting groups have been identified, we may proceed to survey the way in which the circle of antagonistic response between these groups has been set up:

At what points were such antagonistic responses stimulated?

1. Were they caused by a change from existing conditions? If so, how was the change introduced?
2. Have the plans for the change been laid by one group without consulting the others?
3. Is there one group in the situation which resents what it considers the patronizing attitude of any other group?
4. Is there one group which fears what it considers the paternalistic attitude of the other group?
5. Were the groups originally lacking in confidence in one another?
6. Has there been any display of partisanship by any central person or persons toward one or another group? Does any group suspect that there has been such display of partisanship?
7. Has any group resorted to subterfuge in order to promote its own ends?
8. Has any group insisted absolutely upon the complete acceptance of its own point of view by all other groups?
9. Have two groups been working together without periodic conferences for the discussion of mutual policies and programs?
10. Has one group attempted to force agreement by resorting to such social pressures as:
    a. Superiority attitudes?
    b. Majority voting, minority submission?
    c. Legal compulsion?
    d. The weight of opinion through mass meetings?
    e. Newspaper publicity?
11. Has one group attempted to stifle opposition to its program by:
    a. Denying the opportunity to discuss differences?

b. Threatening the jobs of those who oppose them?
c. Appealing to conflicting interests?
d. Appealing to breeding and loyalty?

Once the nature of the conflict has been determined through its location in one or more of these categories (or, it should be added, in categories not included in this list), the conflict may be described in terms of its chief causal elements. These categories should not, obviously, be required to carry too heavy a burden. No community conflict can be so readily assigned to a specific category without doing injury to the total situation. The various factors which have brought a particular conflict to its difficult and unresolved stage are indicated merely as useful terms of description. Such description should, of course, be made on the basis of the fullest possible knowledge of facts. The cases referred to in the pamphlet should be used merely as guides to this discovery of causal factors.

III. We may now ask:

How may this situation be further clarified by discriminating between the intrinsic and the derivative issues between the groups?

In the attempt to clarify and understand the various processes by which a particular conflict may have become confused, the following questions may be explored:

1. Has there occurred a substitution of issues in which
a. Personal gain is represented as community gain?
b. Personal attitudes are represented as community opinion?

2. Is this conflict a part of a sequence of issues in which
a. The precipitating event is merely one in a longer series?
b. Old alignments are revived?

3. Does this conflict persist through a confusion or obscuring of issues by means of the introduction of

a. Irrelevancies?
b. Political considerations?

4. Has this conflict been precipitated by
a. Rivalry between organizations?
b. Rivalry between leaders?
c. A third person dividing the opposition to his program?
d. The introduction of outside issues through external, arbitrary authority?

The foregoing discussions should have revealed both the causes and the contributing emotions, attitudes, biases, et cetera, which tend to give any particular conflict its texture. In short, these discussions should have supplied a descriptive pattern of the conflict in terms of diagnosis.

B. What Steps May be Taken Looking Toward an Adjustment or Resolution of This Conflict?

There are, apparently, two stages or periods at which steps toward solution may be appropriately considered, and these may be represented by the two following subsidiary questions.

I. How may the conflict mind-set be minimized?

That is, what steps may be taken before the conflict has solidified or become chronic?

1. Is any group in this current conflict opposing a faulty plan which would inevitably perish of its own weight?
2. Is any group opposing changes which are inevitable?
3. Is any group afraid of "losing face," and can that group be helped to "save face"?
4. How may the disturbing or difficult personalities be functionally related to the group purpose?
5. How may the dissenting group be included in vital deliberations?
6. Is expert guidance needed? How and when shall it be called in?

7. How may the current conflict be absorbed in long-time planning?

II. How may divergent interests within the community be integrated?

1. Will rational analysis of the actual problem furnish the clue for integration?
2. May the conflict be resolved through recognition of identity of interests?
3. May existing common interests be utilized for a wider integration?
4. Will the conflict be absorbed by the creation of communal interests?
5. May it be advisable to refer the problem to non-official groups?
6. May integration be found in a displacement of nominal agreement by real agreement?
7. May integration be brought about by aiding a minority group to creative self-realization?

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(See also list of pertinent Inquiry publications, p. 157.)

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